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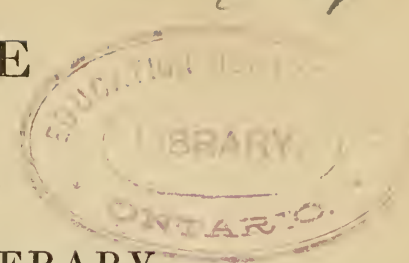




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AN EPITOME  
OF  
THE CIVIL AND LITERARY  
CHRONOLOGY OF GREECE,  
FROM THE  
EARLIEST ACCOUNTS  
TO  
THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

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BY  
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## P R E F A C E.

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A FEW brief remarks will be sufficient to explain the objects of this volume. In the three volumes of the *Fasti Hellenici* the testimonies are collected upon which the facts and opinions are founded. Each writer is made to give his own evidence in his own language, or the passages are referred to in which the evidence is contained. In the present volume the quotations and references are omitted, the principal facts and observations are retained, and sometimes the arguments by which the facts are established. In this, as in the larger work, the Chronology of Rome from the war of Pyrrhus in Italy to the death of Augustus is combined with the memorials of Greece. The account of the Assyrian Empire, the Scripture Chronology, and other subjects which were embraced by the larger work, are also inserted in this. If any errors were discovered in the larger work, they have been corrected; and, although the testimonies which are given in the former volumes are not repeated in the present, yet, when additional testimonies have been found, and when access has been had to new materials, I have availed myself of these, and have quoted such testimonies. These passages will

## PREFACE.

supply what was omitted, or complete what was imperfect, and will contain Supplementary Evidence upon the matters to which they refer. The Notes at the end of the volume supply some additional and necessary explanations.

That this Epitome may be a convenient introduction to the larger volumes, the form and arrangement of the original work is preserved; and the dissertations which followed the Tables in each Period are given in the same order, with only such alterations as seemed to be required.<sup>a</sup>

I have to acknowledge the liberal encouragement which this volume has received from the Delegates of the Oxford University Press. The volumes of the *Fasti Hellenici* were published under their patronage, and the same favours have been conferred upon this *Compendium*.

*Welwyn, Herts,*  
29 September, 1851.

<sup>a</sup> When the volumes of the *Fasti Hellenici* are quoted, the 3rd edition of the second volume and the 2nd edition of the third are for the most part referred to.





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# FASTI HELLENICI.

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## PART THE FIRST.

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I. It is proposed in this volume to take a brief survey of the civil and literary chronology of Greece from the earliest accounts to the death of Augustus. We divide this subject into three periods; the first comprehends all the time which preceded the 55th Olympiad; the second extends from the 55th to the 125th Olympiad; the third from the 125th Olympiad to the death of Augustus.

The times before Pisistratus, forming the first of these three periods, may themselves be distributed into three portions; the first extending to the Trojan war, the second containing the space from the fall of Troy to the first Olympiad, and the third the interval from the first Olympiad to the 55th. In the five centuries and a half which elapsed from Pisistratus to Augustus our materials are ample and authentic; to each successive year may be assigned its proper incident. But in the thousand years which are computed from Cecrops to Pisistratus it is enough if we can conjecture the probable date of a few principal facts, by comparing the scanty memorials and uncertain traditions which descended to posterity, and from which the learned of a later age composed their chronology.

In the times before the Olympiad of Corœbus some remarkable periods might have been preserved. It might have been remembered and recorded that the war of Troy lasted to the tenth year; that Orestes returned to Argos in the eighth year after the death of Agamemnon; that the Bœotians occupied Bœotia in the 60th year, and the Dorians Peloponnesus in the 80th year, after the fall of Troy; or that the Ionic migration commenced 60 years after the return of the



Heraclidæ. The duration of some remarkable reigns might also possibly have been transmitted. But it is not likely that the years of any entire series of reigns were accurately preserved. Accordingly, not relying upon the dates of the later chronologers, I have attempted to collect the scattered relics of the early traditions, and to exhibit the early times, as they are related by the ancients themselves, in the form of genealogies.

But the authority even of these has been called in question by many able and learned writers, who reject Danaus Cadmus Hercules Theseus and many others as fictitious persons. It is evident that any fact would come from the poets embellished with many fabulous additions; and fictitious genealogies were undoubtedly composed. Because however some genealogies were fictitious, we are not justified in concluding that all were fabulous. Niebuhr argues that the traditions preserved by the poets would be obscured in two or three generations. This might have happened, if the poetry of the Greeks had been rude songs recited merely by the populace. But this was not the character of the early poetry of Greece. The composition was recited by persons whose profession it was to lay it up in their memories and to transmit it. The *αοιδὸς* was a person of importance and dignity. In poetical language he was inspired by the gods; in plain description he was one who had leisure for intellectual pursuits, who was exempted from the necessity of labour and spared the toils of war; and who cultivated poetry as his peculiar province. What he composed was not left to the rude multitude, but was committed to other bards, who were his successors in the art.

National vanity, one great cause of corrupting genealogies, could have no place in the early times of Greece. In later times, when the Greeks began to distinguish mankind into barbarian and Greek, this feeling would operate. But this distinction had not then been made. The country was occupied by independent and rival tribes, Ionians and Æolians and Achæans and Dorians. The traditions which celebrated the heroes of one tribe would be cautiously received by the others. Variations in the tale occurred. Thus the character and death of Sciron were related by the Athenians solely to the honour of Theseus; but the Megarians described them

differently. Those variations however would establish the general fact in which all agreed. And especially we may receive the traditions which were admitted by those who had no interest or concern in the admission. Some of the early traditions acknowledged obligations to foreign countries. They had to tell that they received the arts of life through Danaus and Cadmus and Pelops from nations more civilised than themselves; these traditions, so little flattering to national vanity, were not such as a people would be apt to fabricate. In estimating then the historical value of the genealogies transmitted by the early poets, we may take a middle course; not rejecting them as wholly false nor yet implicitly receiving all as true. The genealogies contain many real persons, but these are incorporated with many fictitious names. The fictions however will have a basis of truth; the genealogical expression may be false, but the connexion which it describes is real. The names preserved in the ancient genealogies may be considered of three kinds; either they were the name of a race or clan converted into the name of an individual, or they were altogether fictitious, or lastly, they were real historical persons. An attempt is made in the genealogical tables given below to distinguish these three classes of names. Those which appear to be the names of nations converted into the names of persons are there exhibited in capitals; the fictitious names are in italics. Of those who are left in the third class all are not entitled to remain there. But I have only placed in the two first classes those names concerning which there seemed to be little doubt. The rest are left to the judgment of the reader.

The following are examples of the name of a people converted into the name of a person. The brothers *Lydus Mysus* and *Car* in Herodotus; *Caucon* in Strabo; *Pelasgus*, of whom there were five; *Lelex*, of whom there were three; *Archæus*, of whom two are recorded. To the same class I would ascribe *Epeus Ætolus* and *Eleus*, *Phlegyas Minyas* and *Orchomenus*, *Ion Dorus Arcas Æolus*, and even *Hellen*. These appellations might be applied in two ways: either the leader was described under this national name or (as Müller has interpreted many of these names) the nation itself was personified under an individual, and its presence in a particular

region, or its migration to a particular district, was described ; just as in the language of Hebrew poetry the names *Israel* and *Jacob* are used for the whole Hebrew nation. But although in the Greek traditions these were not real names, or rather were poetical descriptions substituted for the real names, yet the facts with which they were connected were real circumstances. In the former sense of the name of a clan or race transferred to an individual we may understand *Thesalus* the leader of the *Thessali*, *Ion* of the *Ionians*, *Achæus* of the *Achæans*. In the latter sense, (which less frequently occurs,) of a nation personified by an individual, we may interpret *Thesprotus* and *Macedon* sons of *Lycaon*, or *Phthius* son of *Achæus*. Such genealogies will express an affinity between the tribes so named.

In the second class, the fabricated names, we may reckon those which have been invented to shew a connexion, or rather which are poetical expressions of a connexion. The connexion is real but the expression fabulous. In these fabricated names we may include many of the females who appear in the genealogies. Thus *Messene* daughter of *Triopas*, *Sparte* daughter of *Eurotas*, *Taygete* mother of *Lacedæmon*, *Larissa* mother of *Achæus*, *Callisto* mother of *Arcas*, *Melibæa* wife of *Magnes* were fictitious persons ; but the connexion which they signified was substantial and real. To such names we may refer *Arne* the daughter of *Æolus* and mother of *Bæotus*. Here *Arne* belongs to the second class of names and *Bæotus* to the first. Among the imaginary names again may be numbered the names designed to express a local origin ; as *Haliartus* and *Coronus* sons of *Thersander* ; *Mænalus* *Mantineus* *Orchomenus* *Parrhasus* sons of *Lycaon* ; *Epidaurus* and *Tiryns* sons of *Argus* ; *Andreus* son of the *Peneüs* ; or those in which a plain and obvious analogy may be traced between the name and the fact. Thus *Aëthlius* and *Amphictyon* are fabricated persons. But in cases like these of *Amphictyon* and *Aëthlius* the particular circumstances must conspire to mark the persons as fictitious. The mere occurrence of a name expressing a thing is not of itself a proof that the person is fabricated. *Charilaus* was a real person. *Agésilæus* and *Archidamus* were real persons, in historical times. The practice of giving descriptive names is found in many nations. It was common with



the Hebrews, and with the Greeks themselves in their latest periods; why should it not have occurred among them in the first ages? Descriptive names then are not evidences of fiction when unaccompanied by other particulars. Thus *Eunomus* is rejected in this work not on account of the composition of the name in itself, but because a generation is wanting in the oldest author, and because that generation is transposed in the next oldest authority. Even when the name is fictitious the person may be real. Thus the father of *Arion* is *Cycleus*; doubtless a fabricated name, expressing that *Arion* invented or improved the Cyclian chorus; and yet *Arion* himself was real. *Helen* therefore may be a real person, although by one poetical fiction she is called the daughter of *Nemesis*. A descriptive name which superseded the original name was not unusual with the Greeks. *Stesichorus* was not the original name of that poet, who received this appellation after he had attained eminence. The real name of *Melissa* was *Lyside*. *Pero* the daughter of *Neleus* was afterwards called *Elegeis*. The original name then of *Hercules* might have been *Alcæus*; and in all the cases in which we pronounce the person who bears a descriptive name to be a fabulous person, we must have a substantial reason founded upon each particular case; and we shall not be justified in rejecting *Hercules* or *Theseus* from the mere composition of their names.

Too much is often deduced from the etymology of names. Thus many have sought an etymology for the *Pelasgi*, and have even founded the history and origin of that people upon the supposed origin of their name. But there seems no reason why this particular people should be so investigated. No etymology can be proposed of the names *Ætoli*, *Epei*, *Achæi*, *Dores*, *Thessali*, and many other tribes; who are derived by the mythologists from *Achæus Dorus* or *Thessalus*; as the *Pelasgi* are from *Pelagus*. And yet these tribes are acknowledged, and their origin is not made to depend upon etymology; why then should this be done in describing the *Pelasgi*? A name might often originate in some accidental or trivial cause which was soon forgotten. The etymologies proposed for *Iaones*, *Æoles*, and some others noticed below, are of a different character. There the etymologies harmonize with the origin of the tribes deduced from other facts. In the case

of the *Iaones* and *Æoles*, the etymology is founded upon the history; in the case of the *Pelasgi* the history is founded upon the etymology. We may observe that the Greeks themselves, who are fanciful in etymology, have often been led from the accidental import of a name to invent a fable; which has thrown discredit upon the name itself. But the person may be real, although the tale to which his name had given occasion is a mere invention, fabricated in a later age.

We may acknowledge as real persons all those whom there is no reason for rejecting. The presumption is in favour of the early tradition, if no argument can be brought to overthrow it. The persons may be considered real, when the description of them is consonant with the state of the country at that time; when no national prejudice or vanity could be concerned in inventing them; when the tradition is consistent and general; when rival or hostile tribes concur in the leading facts; when the acts ascribed to the person (divested of their poetical ornament) enter into the political system of the age, or form the basis of other transactions which fall within known historical times. *Cadmus* and *Danaus* appear to be real persons; for it is conformable to the state of mankind and perfectly credible that Phœnician and Egyptian adventurers in the ages to which these persons are ascribed should have found their way to the coasts of Greece; and the Greeks, as already observed, had no motive from any national vanity to feign these settlements. Three arguments establish that *Hercules* was a real person. First, his acts were recorded by those who were not friendly to the Dorians; by Achæans and Æolians and Ionians, who had no vanity to gratify in celebrating the hero of a hostile and rival people. Secondly, his descendants in many branches remained in many states to the historical times. His son *Tlepolemus* and his grandson and great-grandson *Cleodæus* and *Aristomachus*, are acknowledged to be real persons; and no reason can be assigned for receiving these, which will not be equally valid for establishing the reality both of *Hercules* and *Hyllus*. Lastly and especially, *Hercules* is authenticated by the testimonies in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*<sup>a</sup>. These, the oldest poems, treat of the latest period

<sup>a</sup> *Hercules* is called a man—ἄνθρωπος—in *Iliad*. v. 396. His death is mentioned in *Iliad*. xviii. 117.



within the epic cycle. If we regard the subjects of the early epic poetry, the earliest place belongs to the Theogony, the Wars of the Giants, the Wars of the Titans. Then follow the *Phoronis* and the *Danaïs*; then at some interval the acts of Hercules and Theseus and the Theban wars; last of all the war of Troy and the *νόστοι*. But this order is in a great degree reversed with reference to the poets. The most ancient poems, the Iliad and Odyssey, describe the subjects which are nearly the last in order; and, in celebrating the war of Troy, the author of the Iliad limits himself to the times which immediately precede it. In the Trojan line he ascends to Dardanus; in the Argive kings to Acrisius. In the Æolian line the Odyssey traces a genealogy upwards to Melampus, and to Cretheus and Salmoneus; and the Iliad another to Sisyphus. But except in these cases the genealogies in these two poems are limited to the third or fourth generation. They never name Dorus or Helen or Danaus or Deucalion. Even Æolus is not distinctly named as an individual<sup>b</sup>. But this character of the Homeric genealogies is in favour of their historical evidence. The authors of these poems seem to ascend no higher than authentic accounts transmitted by contemporary poets would carry them, and to have neglected the remoter times, where tradition was less distinct and more obscured by fable. But, if the author of the Iliad flourished where we place him, the heroes of the fourth generation would be only 250 or 260 years, and Hercules only 210 or 220 years, before the time of the poet himself; and through that period the testimony of contemporary bards, by whom so remarkable a person was mentioned, might well descend to the time of Homer; in whom that hero appears (as Mitford remarks) in a different character from the Hercules of later poets; not clothed in a lion's skin, but armed like other heroes and attended by armies. If the testimonies in the Iliad are sufficient for establishing the reality of Hercules, they are still more valid for attesting the heroes of the Trojan war itself.

The existence of Theseus has been denied. It is urged by Müller that the Athenian constitution was falsely ascribed to this hero by Athenian vanity; that the Athenians had no democracy till the time of Solon; and that the line in the

<sup>b</sup> A later Æolus occurs in the Odyssey.

Iliad which mentions "the people of Erechtheus" must have been composed at least as late as the age of Solon. It is truly affirmed that the Athenians had no democracy till the age of Solon. We have the testimony of Aristotle that down to this period the government of Athens was an unmitigated oligarchy. The gradual limitations of the power of the chief magistrate at Athens which occurred between the death of Codrus and the legislation of Solon, a period of about 395 years, were not imposed by the people but by the aristocracy, who restrained the powers which they were willing to share; and the benefits ascribed to the institutions of Theseus were doubtless much exaggerated in the brilliant times of Athens, when the Athenians had become a lettered people. But in that period from Codrus to Solon they had made no advances in political importance; they had displayed no signs of that intellectual superiority which they were destined to assume. While the Lacedæmonians were conquering Messenia, the weight and influence of the Athenians were as yet little felt in Greece. In these times however of comparative obscurity to Athens Theseus was acknowledged by the epic poets of the Asiatic Greeks. Although then Theseus was not the founder of the Athenian liberties, yet his existence is established by these early poets, who composed their works under no Athenian influence; and there seems no cause to doubt the fact related by Thucydides, that Theseus collected the inhabitants of the districts into one city, although he did not give them a democratic constitution. Nor does there seem any sufficient reason for rejecting the line in the Iliad which mentions "the people of Erechtheus." This term *demus* could not then be applied in the sense which belonged to it in after-times at Athens; but *the people of Erechtheus* might be said by the poet as *the people of the Lycians* or *the people of Ithaca* or *the people of Apæsus* are said in other passages.

In addition to the testimony derived from early poets, and especially from the Iliad and Odyssey, to the existence of ancient heroes, the testimony of inscriptions deserves to be considered. These might attest the reality not only of many persons in the period which followed the Dorian conquest, but even of some in the times which preceded it. The Greeks were slow in applying the art of writing to poetry. But,

although not applied to poetical works till perhaps after B.C. 776, or about that date, yet it is probable that letters were applied by the Greeks to inscriptions in their Temples and to registers of names from a much earlier date. The Carneonicæ were registered at Sparta from B.C. 676; the Olympionicæ in Elis from 776. But the disk of Iphitus, which was acknowledged by Aristotle, may be placed at 828. The public registers at Sparta, containing in Müller's opinion all the kings from Procles, the registers of the kings and prytanes of Corinth, the ancient inscriptions at Elis, which exhibited a genealogy from Oxylyus to Iphitus, may be referred to a still earlier period; and perhaps were begun to be written as early as B.C. 1048, the probable time of the Dorian conquest. Among the Athenians we hear of inscriptions made in temples, which, though not so ancient as those which have been mentioned, were nevertheless of early date. The inscriptions quoted by Herodotus, in which Amphitryo and Laodamas are named, were ancient in the time of Herodotus; which may perhaps carry them back 400 years before his time; and they might approach within 300 years of Laodamas and within 400 years of the probable time of Cadmus himself. It is granted that these inscriptions are not genuine, that is, not of the age to which Herodotus assigns them; but that they were ancient cannot be doubted, and that the inscriptions in that temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes were ancient is attested by Aristotle. The inscriptions in Herodotus at least are testimonies of the opinion of the age in which they were inscribed, and are evidence that Amphitryo and Laodamas were acknowledged in an early period.

At Argos a register was preserved of the priestesses of Juno which might be still more ancient than the catalogues of the kings of Sparta or of Corinth. That register, from which Hellanicus composed his work, contained the priestesses from the earliest times down to the age of Hellanicus himself, whose work probably ended with the priestess Chrysis, who began her office in B.C. 479, since her 48th year was still current in the spring of 431. That many other registers and inscriptions existed in temples, and that they formed materials for Timæus, appears from Polybius.

It is true that these registers would contain no more than



bare names. But yet these would identify persons, and would be important evidence when the question is concerning the very existence of the early heroes, and when it is denied that Pelias Neleus Ægisthus Atreus were real persons. By the aid of etymology *Orpheus* is interpreted to mean *dark*, and owes his supposed existence to the rites of darkness which his name describes. It is argued that the history of *Pelias*, who also means *darkness*, has strong traces of a connexion with the same rites; the cutting up of Pelias being the same story as the dissection of Orpheus; that the signification of *Neleus* is probably the same; for in mythology brothers often represent the same idea. It is observed that *Amythaon* is probably only an epithet; that *Melampus* also alludes to the same rites of *darkness*; that in *Pelops* or *darkfaced* is another trace of the same religion in Phrygia. The story of the caldron and the division of the body is that of Orpheus and Pelias repeated. The names *Thyestes* *Ægisthus* *Ærope* seem to this enquirer to be all connected with the same religious system. *Thyestes* is a *sacrificer*, *Ægisthus* one who *tears to pieces*, *Ærope* is the *dark*, *Atreus* or *Ater* probably synonymous with *Pelops*.

This scheme of interpretation is less credible than that which is rejected. For, besides that etymologies, when made the basis of history instead of being founded upon it or proceeding naturally out of it, can only end in a conjecture at last, and can never stand in the place of historical truth, this whole reasoning rests upon the assumption that mystical religion existed in Greece from the very beginning, and in the earliest ages; an assumption which is refuted by the silence of Homer and the absence of all testimony.

In other instances the religious worship of the early Greeks has been somewhat fancifully applied to explain their history. According to some expositors one ancient people is a nation of priests, a sacerdotal caste; and their movements are characterised as a kind of religious wars, undertaken to establish a particular worship. Doubtless the Dorians carried with them into any new settlement the worship of Apollo, and the Ionians the worship of Neptune. But those worships were not the cause of wars and migrations; these were undertaken from the same motives which have led other nations to seek

new settlements. Even Müller, who has learnedly illustrated the religion of the Dorians, has sometimes assigned to it a larger influence and described it in loftier language than his authorities will justify. At one time he states that the Dorians every where exterminated the ancient rites of *Ceres*, at another that the Ionians planted the worship of *Apollo* by force in Attica. But that the establishment of a religious worship was never a leading motive is evident from the facility with which the Dorians and other early tribes adopted the worship of any other people. Thus the Dorians adopted the worship of the Pelasgian Juno at Argos, the Pelasgian or Lelegian Diana in Laconia. The Dryopes worshipped *Apollo* the god of their enemies. The Ionians embraced the worship of the Ephesian *Diana*; an ancient worship, which they found already in the country. With respect to the rites of *Ceres* Herodotus, to whom Müller refers, does not state that these were every where exterminated, but only that they had fallen into neglect among the Dorians; and Müller himself relates on another occasion that this very worship was adopted by the Lacedæmonians.

In treating of the religion of the early Dorians, Müller “ascends to a period in which the primitive religion of the Dorians exhibited a distinct and original character;” and describes the Jupiter and Apollo of this nation in the following terms: “The Supreme Deity when connected with Apollo “was neither born nor visible on earth, and perhaps never “considered as having any immediate influence upon men. “But Apollo, who is often emphatically called the son of “Jupiter, acts as his intercessor ambassador and prophet “with mankind. And whilst the father of the gods appears, “indistinctly and at a distance, dwelling in ether, and enthroned in the highest heavens, *Apollo* is described as a “divine hero, whose office is to ward off evils and dangers, “establish rites of expiation, and announce the ordinances of “fate.” These splendid expressions are not justified by the testimonies in Æschylus and Sophocles to which he refers. But if this description were to be found in the works of Æschylus or Pindar or Sophocles, it must be ascribed to the additions of a later age; and there would be no proof whatever that it belonged to the rude and ignorant worship of the



early Dorians. To attribute these splendid notions to them would be an error similar to the mistake of some interpreters of the Eleusinian Mysteries (an error exposed by Lobeck) who, applying to those mysteries the refined notions of a polished age, have ascribed to the barbarians of the age of Eumolpus a hidden wisdom which existed only in their own imaginations. It is true indeed, that the Jupiter and Apollo of the *Iliad* are sometimes described with striking attributes of divine power; but these are only the lofty conceptions of the poet's own mind. If however we were to grant that those were the current opinions of the Ionian and Æolian Greeks in the age in which the *Iliad* was composed, we could not infer from thence that those notions belonged to the religious system of the early Dorians. For this poem, probably composed in the tenth century before our era, was at the least three centuries later than the period at which the Dorians planted the worship of Apollo at Delphi or in Crete.

The names exhibited in the genealogies after the return of the *Heraclidæ* may be for the most part referred to the third class of real historical persons. There is no reason to believe that the Ionian and Æolian Greeks were ignorant of the founders of their respective states from a period not very remote, since the beginning of the period was less than three centuries before the Olympiad of Corœbus. In Greece itself the successions of kings in some dynasties were attested by registers already noticed, and yet, if the remark of Mr. Lewis be just, that lineal successions through a long series of descents do not occur in authentic history, we may suspect that the love of the Greeks for a genealogy exhibiting a lineal succession has led them to attribute to those dynasties a lineal succession where it was not always lineal. In the dynasties represented below, the Messenian succession is lineal through eight reigns. In Arcadia the lineal succession ends at Æginetes; but it begins with Hippothus and is continued through nine reigns. The succession at Corinth, which commences with Aletes, is broken at Aristodemus; but it remains entire through eight generations. In the two Spartan lines the lineal succession of the Agidæ ends in Cleomenes I; but it proceeds unbroken through 17 reigns from Aristodemus inclusive. In the other line we shall see reason below for omitting one generation; but the

lineal descent from Aristodemus to Demaratus, in whom it ends, nevertheless proceeds through 15 reigns. The Athenian reigns are also represented as lineal. The direct succession is continued from Melanthus, the founder of a new dynasty, down to Æschylus the 12th perpetual archon, for 14 generations. It was recorded of a dynasty of Lydian kings that they held in direct descent from father to son for 22 generations; and of the kings of Assyria that they reigned for 30 in lineal descent. Although these two last cases are fabulous, yet they contribute to shew the tendency of the Greeks to exhibit the reigns of kings in lineal succession. The suspicion then appears well founded, both from the practice of the Greeks and from the improbability of the fact, that those successions in the Grecian dynasties were not always lineal, and that although the names for the most part were faithfully recorded, and although the dynasties remained unchanged, the successor of a king is sometimes called his son when in reality he was a brother or a nephew or some collateral heir.

II. In these abstracts of the first part of the *Fasti Hellenici* I proceed to describe the early inhabitants of Greece, to relate the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, to survey the Asiatic colonies, to examine the date of the Trojan war, and then to exhibit a tabular view of the first fifty-four Olympiads. This will be followed by a short account of the principal matters contained in the Appendix to the larger work.

The inhabitants of Greece in the first ages are rather to be classed according to their clans and families than according to the districts which they occupied in the country. They had no settled habitations, but migrated from one part of the country to another, often in a hostile but sometimes in a peaceful manner. Thus the Dorians frequently changed their habitations. The first seat of the Achæans was in Thessaly; thence they migrated into Laconia, and lastly occupied the northern shore of Peloponnesus, called from them Achaia. The Ionians were settled in Attica; thence they passed into Peloponnesus, from whence they returned into Attica before their final settlement in Asia. It was not till after the Dorian occupation of Peloponnesus, that the different members of the Greek nation were fixed in the seats which they finally occupied.

On surveying the people known by the appellation of

Greeks, it naturally occurs to enquire whether these were descended from the aboriginal occupiers of the soil, or whether they were sprung from settlers of a later date, by whom that original race was supplanted. Four establishments were ascribed to foreigners; but the change effected by these establishments of *Danaus* *Cecrops* *Cadmus* and *Pelops* was not such as to deserve to be accounted the introduction of a new race of people, such as is produced by force of arms, or by large bodies of invaders overwhelming the old inhabitants. Nothing of this character belonged to the settlements made in early Greece. These were made within three centuries of the Trojan war, when the country was already in the possession of powerful tribes, which subsisted after these establishments, and increased so far as to supersede them. All these four settlements are examples of a smaller received into a larger number. They were adopted by the body of the people by whom they were received, and the Egyptian or Phœnician or Phrygian settler was lost in the Greek. Excluding these then from the enquiry, we must ascend to a higher point of time, and extend our survey over the early tribes by whom the country was possessed, in order to determine how far the Greeks were an aboriginal people.

A dynasty of Pelasgic chiefs existed in Greece before any other dynasty is heard of in Greek traditions. Excepting in this line, none of the genealogies ascend higher than the ninth or eighth or seventh generation before the Trojan war. *Danaus* is in the ninth, *Deucalion* in the eighth, *Cadmus* in the seventh generation before that epoch; but in the Pelasgic branch of the nation *Phoroneus* is in the eighteenth before the Trojan war; the founder of *Sicyon* is his contemporary; and the Pelasgic chief who planted the Pelasgians in *Thessaly* is five generations earlier than *Deucalion*. *Inachus* the father of *Phoroneus* was the highest term in Grecian history. *Africanus* makes him a little older than *Moses*. *Eusebius* has placed *Moses* 300 years below him, but agrees with *Africanus* in placing *Inachus* 700 years before the fall of *Troy*. Another tradition however, to which *Pausanias* refers, made *Phoroneus* the first king. *Acusilaus* and *Plato* record this tradition.

*Africanus* according to computations derived from the accounts of *Philochorus*, *Hellanicus*, *Castor*, and others placed



the flood of Ogyges and the 55th year of the reign of Phoroneus at B. C. 1796, or 1020 years before the Olympiad of Coræbus B. C. 776. The computation of Africanus will place Phoroneus 667 years before the date which Eratosthenes assigns for the fall of Troy.

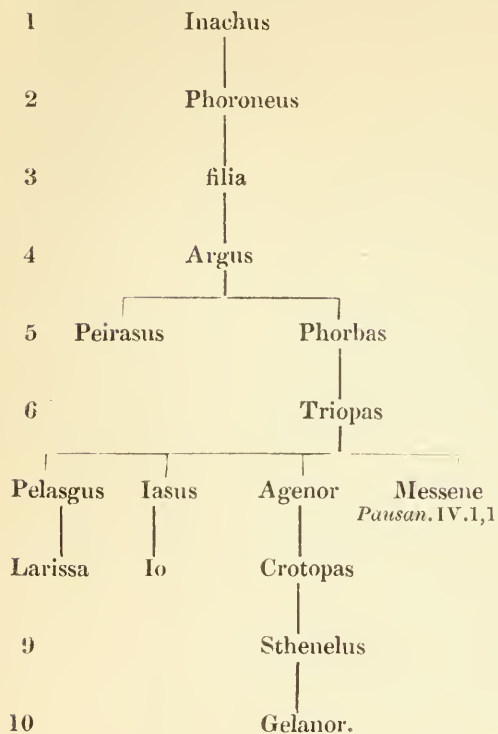
By all testimonies Phoroneus was an aboriginal chief of the predominant tribe the Pelasgi. His subjects were Pelasgians and his successors Pelasgians till the coming of Danaus. The ancient chronologers attempted to arrange the events recorded in their early traditions according to the reigns of this Pelasgic dynasty which ruled at Argos. Tatian has supplied the synchronisms, which are also given by Clemens Alexandrinus. Castor undertook to assign not only the whole period of the dynasty, but the years of each respective reign. Pausanias supplies the following list :

- 1 [*Inachus*]
- 2 *Phoroneus*
- 3 *Argus*
- 4 *Phorbas* and *Peirasus*
- 5 *Triopas*
- 6 *Iasus* and *Agenor*
- 7 *Crotopus*
- 8 *Sthenelus*
- 9 *Gelanor*
- 10 *Danaüs*
- 11 *Lynceus*
- 12 *Abas*
- 13 *Acrisius* at Argos, *Prætus* at Tiryns.

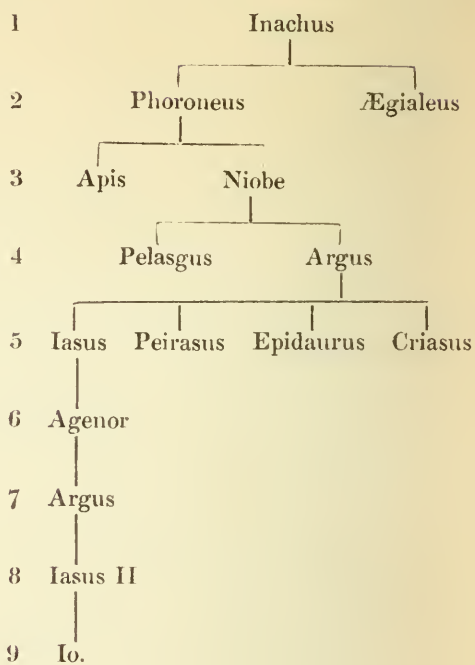
Apollodorus names 1 Inachus ; 2 Phoroneus ; 3 Argus ; 4 Criasus ; then Iasus ; after the mention of whom he passes to the adventures of Io, and returns to the kings of Argos at Gelanor. He then names Danaüs and Lynceus, and makes Acrisius and Prætus contemporary kings. Apollodorus and Pausanias make Argus the grandson and successor of Phoroneus. Apis appears in neither as king of Argos.

The genealogies are as follow :

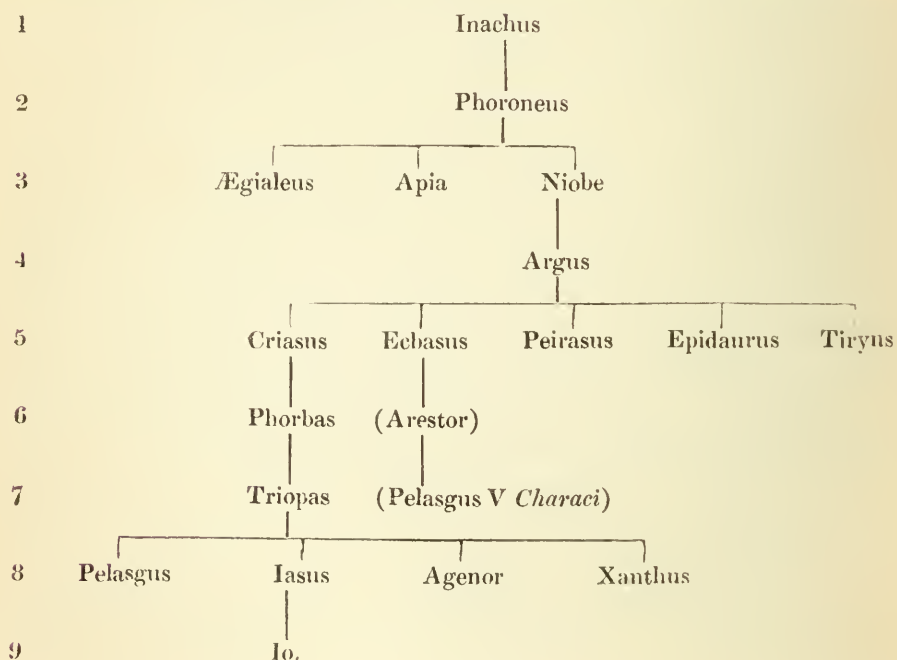
## PAUSANIAS



## APOLLODORUS



The Scholiast on Euripides gives the genealogy with other variations :





Some of these names are illustrated by Hyginus, though corrupted. Pelasgus Iasus and Agenor are made the sons of Triopas by Hellanicus. Pausanias and Hyginus mention Pelasgus son of Triopas. Larissa daughter of Pelasgus is in Pausanias. Xanthus occurs in Diodorus. A son of Niobe is called Pelasgus by Dionysius, and that chief who passed into Thessaly in the sixth generation after Pelasgus son of Niobe is also named Pelasgus. Æschylus gives this name to the king whom Danaus displaced. Another Pelasgus according to Pausanias founded a dynasty of kings in Arcadia, and was contemporary with Danaus Cecrops and Deucalion. Accordingly the combined accounts of Æschylus, Hellanicus, Apollodorus, Dionysius, and Pausanias establish five Pelasgi.

- 1 Pelasgus brother of Argus and son of Niobe.
- 2 Pelasgus father of Larissa son of Triopas.
- 3 Pelasgus son of Larissa who planted Thessaly.
- 4 Pelasgus displaced by Danaus.
- 5 Pelasgus the ancestor of Echemus and Agapenor of Arcadia.

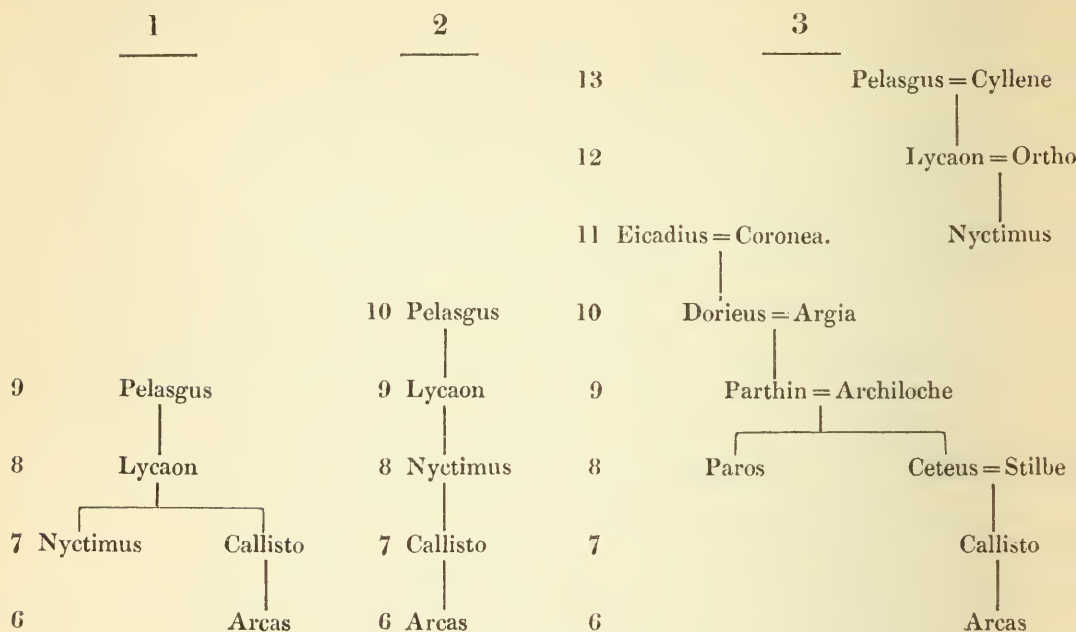
The mistaking these and the confounding them together has produced much confusion. Dionysius and Apollodorus have confounded the Arcadian Pelasgus with that earlier Pelasgus who flourished seven generations before him, and was the grandson of Phoroneus. Dionysius thus describes the colony to Italy: "They planted a colony in Italy under the conduct of Cœnotrus son of Lycaon, who was the fifth from Æzeus and Phoroneus who first reigned in Peloponnesus. For Niobe was the daughter of Phoroneus; Pelasgus the son of Niobe. Lycaon was the son of Æzeus, Deianira daughter of Lycaon. From Deianira and Pelasgus sprang a second Lycaon. His son Cœnotrus flourished 17 generations before the Trojan war."

The genealogy will be this:

(21)	1	Phoroneus	Æzeus
(20)	2	Niobe	Lycaon
(19)	3	Pelasgus	Deianira
(18)	4		Lycaon II
(17)	5		Cœnotrus.

This error of Dionysius, which is noticed by Clavier and by Raoul-Rochette, will be manifest if the testimonies concerning

the Arcadian Pelasgus are examined. Pelasgus the founder of the Arcadian dynasty is placed in the sixth or the ninth or the tenth generation after Phoroneus. Arcas is by a concurrence of authorities in the sixth generation before the Trojan war. The interval between Pelasgus and Arcas is variously stated thus :



The first is the account of Eumelus, which is adopted by Charon of Lampsacus and by Pausanias; the second is the account of the poet Asius; the third genealogy is preserved by the scholiast upon Euripides, who seems to follow Charax; a fourth account of Arcas was given by Duris, who made him the son of Orchomenus. This account also will place Pelasgus in the ninth generation before the Trojan era, because Orchomenus is a son of Lycaon and a brother of Nyctimus. In the third genealogy, that of the scholiast, Arcas is not derived from Pelasgus at all; and Pelasgus is thrown back to the 13th generation. But yet he is placed by this account in the 6th generation below Phoroneus, being the son of Arestor, who was the fifth from Phoroneus. The first and second genealogies, however, of Eumelus and Asius, place Pelasgus in the 9th or 10th generation before the Trojan war; and the synchronisms agree both in Pausanias and Apollodorus. Lycaon is contemporary with Cecrops according to Pausanias, which will place him in the ninth generation;

and Nyctimus with Deucalion according to Apollodorus, which refers Nyctimus to the eighth. Pelasgus therefore was eight or nine generations later than Phoroneus. Nyctimus, then, and Ænotrus are eight generations before the Trojan war instead of 17; and it is manifest that Dionysius and Apollodorus, making the Arcadian Pelasgus grandson of Phoroneus, have confounded a later with an earlier Pelasgus; or rather have followed those who endeavoured to give the Arcadians a high antiquity, and to place their founder in the remotest period. Dionysius appears to have blended together two opposite traditions concerning the Ænotrian colony to Italy. Apollodorus is inconsistent with himself; for he himself places, as we have seen, Nyctimus in the time of Deucalion, and Pelasgus in the ninth generation before the fall of Troy; and yet he had already referred Pelasgus son of Niobë to the 7th generation before Danaüs, consequently the 16th before the fall of Troy. We are not to solve this difficulty by observing that Pelasgus, being not an individual but a nation, in reality existed through all these generations; for the question is, what was the opinion of the ancients themselves? They believed Pelasgus to be a real person; and we are to enquire how far their account is consistent with itself. The son of Niobë in the 17th generation before the Trojan war could not be the father of Lycaon eight generations after Niobë.

The Argive original of the Arcadian Pelasgus is obscure. He was made the son of Arestor by those who proposed to derive him from the Inachidæ. But that account must be rejected, if we accept the other traditions which bring him down to the fifth generation before Arcas. This tradition, however, which derives him from Arestor, shews that he was of the same race with the Pelasgi of Argos. We may arrange the times of these early Pelasgic establishments in this manner: a migration under a Pelasgic chief, represented by Xanthus, son of Triopas, planted a colony first in Lycia and then in Lesbos. Two generations later a migration to Thesaly proceeded from Argos, represented by Achæus Phthius and Pelasgus, sons of Larissa; nearly contemporary with this, and in the ninth generation from Phoroneus, a Pelasgic chief, probably derived from Argos, established himself in Arcadia.



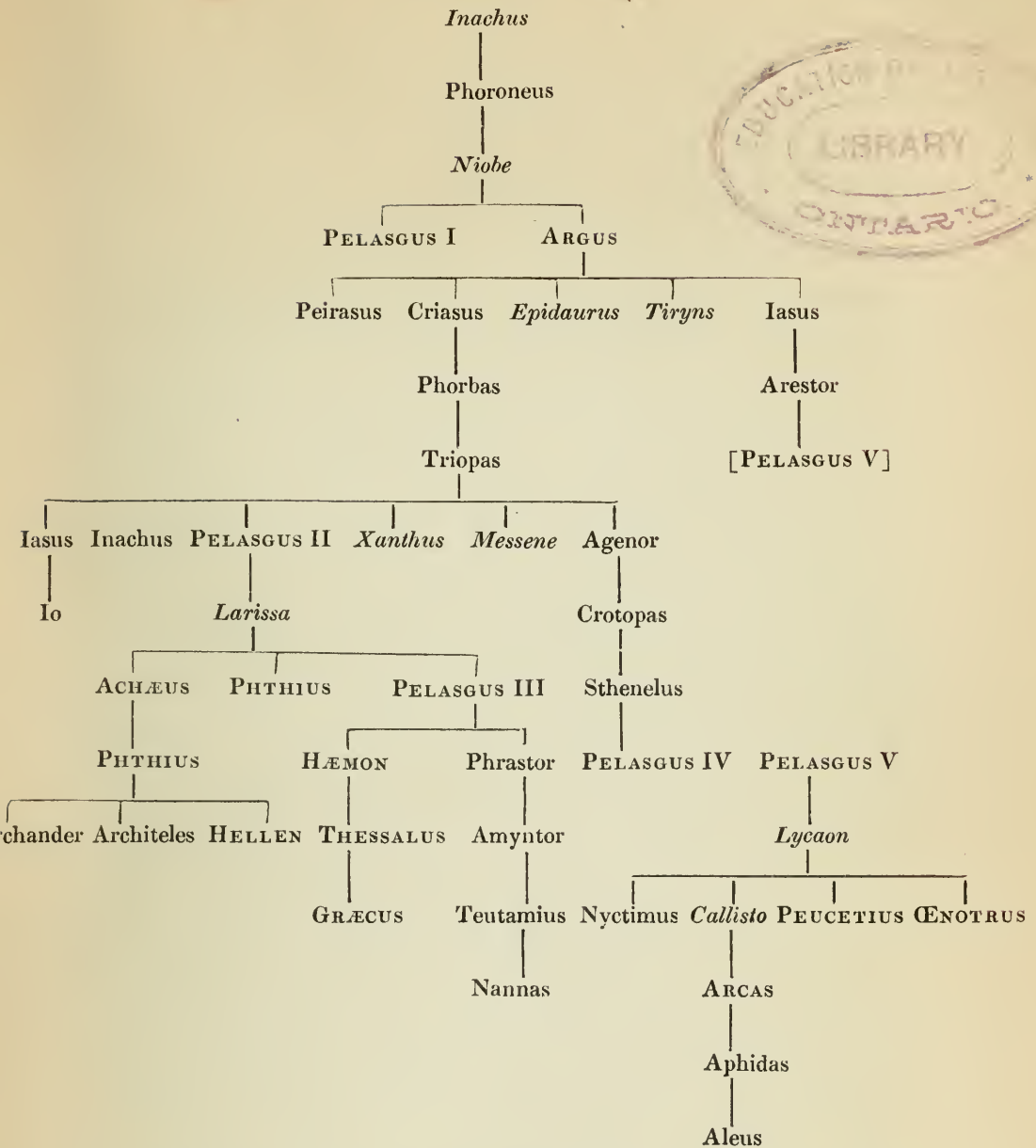
Two generations afterwards, the Ænotrians and Peucetians, Pelasgic tribes, described under the persons of Ænotrus and Peucetius sons of Lycaon, migrated to Italy.

Achæus son of Larissa and grandson of Pelasgus II is sometimes confounded with a later Achæus son of Xuthus; to whom are ascribed some of the acts performed by the former. Achæus and his brothers migrated into Thessaly in the sixth generation after Pelasgus I according to Dionysius, whose account is to the following effect: "The Pelasgians first inhabited Argos in Peloponnesus, being an aboriginal race. They had their name from their king Pelasgus. This Pelasgus was the son of Niobë daughter of Phoroneus. In the sixth generation leaving Peloponnesus under three leaders, Phthius Achæus and Pelasgus, they migrated to Hæmonia. Expelling the barbarians who inhabited it, they divided the country into three districts, called from their leaders Phthiotis, Achaia, Pelasgiotis. Remaining there 5 generations, in which period they attained the greatest prosperity, in the 6th generation they were driven out by the Curetes, Leleges, and others led by Deucalion son of Prometheus and of Clymenë daughter of Oceanus." Archander and Architeles, grandsons of Achæus, returning from Thessaly to Argos, married two daughters of Danaüs.

Strabo confounds this with the later Achæus son of Xuthus: "Achæus one of the sons of Xuthus fled to Lacedæmon and caused the name of Achæans to be given to the inhabitants." He subjoins "The Achæans were Phthiotæ and dwelt in Lacedæmon." This last circumstance was true; but the Achæans of Phthiotis were not derived from Achæus son of Xuthus, and Achæans were in Laconia before his time, being found there by his contemporary Tectamus son of Dorus.

The following Table exhibits the five Pelasgi:





Pelasgus IV or Gelanor, who was the 10th from Phoroneus, was contemporary with Danaüs, by whom he was displaced; and, Danaüs being in the ninth generation before the Trojan war, as will be shewn below, this account will place Phoroneus in the 18th before that epoch. This agrees with the tradition preserved by Diodorus, that *Alcmena* the mother of Hercules was the 16th from Niobë the daughter of Phoroneus. These 18 generations current, computed at three to a century, will place Phoroneus at about 570 years before the fall of Troy.

This genealogy of the sons of Larissa and their descend-

ants, connecting all the occupiers of Thessaly into one family, establishes that it was possessed by kindred races ; and that all these were to be referred to a Pelasgic stock. Thessalus in this genealogy is represented according to the account of Rhianus compared with Stephanus and confirmed by Strabo. Another tradition made him son of Græcus. Another account makes Thessalus the ancestor of Pelasgus III. The name Thessalus occurs again as the leader of the Thessali after the Trojan war. But these various traditions, which made Thessalus the son of Græcus, or the father of Græcus, or the ancestor of Pelasgus III, all agree in the fact that the Thessali were a Pelasgic people. They first appear in Thesprotia, where this Pelasgic tribe might have been established about two generations after the time assigned to Pelasgus III. Here Aristotle found the Græci, who are in the genealogies the parents or the offspring of the Thessali. Both these traditions mark them as kindred races. From Thesprotia the Thessali returned in the 60th year after the fall of Troy into Thessaly, which then received their name. But in occupying this region they returned into the original country from whence their progenitors had issued about eight generations before the Trojan war.

Teutamius, a second of the name, reigned at Larissa in the time of *Acrisius*. This Teutamius, or Teutamides, was a Pelasgian ; and Pelasgic princes remained in Thessaly down to the period of the Trojan war. For of the nine states of Thessaly enumerated in the Homeric Catalogue, four were led by chiefs of Pelasgic race. Whence it appears that the expulsion of the Pelasgi by the Hellenes was not complete.

The wide extent of the Pelasgian dominion under the early kings of Argos is confirmed by many testimonies. Pelasgia was the name for the whole country. According to Acusilaüs, the whole tract as far as Pharsalia and Larissa in Thessaly, and including all Peloponnesus, was called Pelasgia. Æschylus describes the extent of their dominion at the arrival of Danaüs, and extends their rule over all the country through which the Algeus flows, and to the west of the Strymon. He affirms the land of the Perrhæbians and the districts beyond Pindus, near Pæonia, and the mountains of Dodona, to be the limit on one side, and the sea to be the boundary on the

other. The *Pelasgi* may be traced in every part of Greece. We have seen them in Peloponnesus and Thessaly and Thesprotia; they also inhabited Attica Bœotia and Phocis. The oracles of Delphi and Dodona were originally Pelasgic. Pelasgi were in Emathia. Dardanus the ancestor of *Priam* was a Pelasgian. The *Pelasgi* remained in possession of Arcadia till the latest period, and a Pelasgian dynasty reigned there till the second Messenian war.

They were gradually expelled or subjected in most other parts of Greece. In the 8th generation before the Trojan war, according to Dionysius, they began to be expelled from many parts of Thessaly. This was the epoch of a general movement throughout the tribes of the Greek nation. At this period new dynasties began to arise, and a new order of things to commence in various provinces of the country. Within the space of a century the Hellenes were established in Thessaly, a new dynasty was founded in Arcadia, another in Laconia; Danaüs appeared at Argos, Cecrops at Athens, and Dardanus in Phrygia laid the foundations of the Trojan kingdom. Dionysius describes the countries which the Pelasgians occupied in their dispersion. Some remained in possession of the north and north-eastern quarters of Thessaly, some migrated westward to their brethren of Dodona. Others occupied Bœotia and Phocis and Eubœa. But many passed over into Asia, or settled in Crete, and the coasts and islands of the Ægæan. They may be traced in these countries by many testimonies. Homer attests that they were found in Crete. Menecrates marks their position on the whole line of coast afterwards called Ionia, and in the adjacent islands. Hence the Chians derived themselves from the Pelasgi of Thessaly; and the other islanders were of Pelasgic race till the Ionians subdued them. The country afterwards named *Æolis* was occupied by Pelasgians. Like the Pelasgi of the Ionian states, they were conquered or expelled by the colonists from Greece after the Trojan war.

Diodorus, enumerating the states which had held the dominion of the sea after the Trojan war, ascribes 85 years to the Pelasgian empire. These 85 years are placed by Eusebius at B. C. 1088—1004, which would agree with the period of their flourishing condition in Asia and the islands noticed by Strabo, before the period of the Ionic migration.



Bishop Marsh infers from Strabo that the original seat of the Pelasgians was in Asia; and he supposes Thrace to be pointed out by Greek writers as their original establishment in Europe. But we have seen that the evidence of Strabo and of other Greek writers respecting Thrace and Asia refers to this subsequent occupation of those countries by the Pelasgi after their expulsion from Thessaly. The earliest accounts, beyond which tradition could not reach, found them in Peloponnesus: their migrations from thence are recorded, but no mention occurs of the Pelasgi in any other quarter preceding their appearance in Peloponnesus. In observing, then, the wide diffusion of the Pelasgi, we must distinguish between their original and more ancient occupancy during their dominion in Greece, and the later periods during their depression. The Pelasgians at Dodona in Herodotus belong to the first period, but the Pelasgians in Asia Minor belong to the second. The colony indeed to Lycia and Lesbos is of the former period. But this migration was six generations below Phoroneus.

We may now add some particulars respecting the Pelasgi in Italy. Dionysius names three Pelasgic colonies; the first under Ænotrus and Peucetius, the second from Thessaly, the third under Evander from Arcadia. A short abstract of the account of Dionysius will shew the sources from whence he derived it. “The Aborigines of Italy were accounted by  
 “some an indigenous race; others considered them as a  
 “wandering people collected from various countries, and interpreted their name to mean *wanderers*: others accounted  
 “them a branch of the Ligurians, a race which is seated near  
 “the Alps and in many other parts of Italy. The best Roman antiquaries, Cato, C. Sempronius, and many others,  
 “consider the Aborigines to be Greeks, who migrated from  
 “their own country many generations before the Trojan war.  
 “But these writers do not define the particular Grecian people, or the state from whence they came; nor do they cite  
 “any Grecian authorities for their accounts. What the truth  
 “is cannot be pronounced; but if the conjecture of these  
 “writers be just, the Aborigines must have been derived  
 “from an Arcadian colony, since that was the first Grecian  
 “people who passed into Italy, under the conduct of Ænotrus,



“ 17 generations before the Trojan war. With Ænotrus came  
“ Peucetius, one of his brothers, from whom a part of the  
“ country was named Peucetia, as from Ænotrus the name  
“ of Ænotria was given to the region in which he settled.  
“ Antiochus, an ancient historian, relates that the Ænotrians  
“ were the first settlers who were known to come to Italy;  
“ that one of this race was a king called Italus; that he was  
“ succeeded by Morges, from whom the Ænotrians were called  
“ Morgetes and Italians. Pherecydes mentions Ænotrus and  
“ Peucetius sons of Lycaon and grandsons of Pelasgus as the  
“ leaders; that they settled in Italy; that from Ænotrus the  
“ people were called Ænotrians, and from Peucetius another  
“ part of the country was named Peucetia. If therefore the  
“ Aborigines were a Grecian people (as Cato and other Ro-  
“ man writers affirm), they must have been descended from  
“ the settlers under Ænotrus. The Pelasgian colonies from  
“ Thessaly came later, and this was the first that passed from  
“ Greece into the west.

“ By these Aborigines the Sicels were pressed on all sides,  
“ and long and bloody wars ensued between them. During  
“ the continuance of these contests, a band of Pelasgians  
“ came from Thessaly into the neighbourhood of the Abori-  
“ gines, who received them for the benefit of their aid in their  
“ war with the Sicels, and perhaps also on account of their  
“ consanguinity; since, if the Aborigines were Ænotrians,  
“ they were of the same race as the new settlers; the Pelas-  
“ gians also being Greeks from Peloponnesus. They remained  
“ in Thessaly five generations; in the sixth Deucalion drove  
“ them out, and they passed first to Dodona, then into Italy.  
“ They propitiate the Aborigines by producing an oracle, and  
“ a settlement is assigned them in Velia. These Pelasgians,  
“ with the help of the Aborigines, seize upon Croton, a town  
“ of the Umbrians (a very ancient people prior to the set-  
“ tlement of the Aborigines, and dispersed over many parts  
“ of Italy), and, driving out the Sicels, the Pelasgi and the  
“ Aborigines jointly occupy Cære, or Agylla, Pisa, Saturnia,  
“ Alsium, and other towns, which they gradually took from  
“ the Tuscans; and Falerii and Fescennina (originally towns  
“ of the Sicels) retained to my time some vestiges of the  
“ Pelasgian race. The Pelasgi also penetrated into Campania,

“ and drove from thence a race called *Aurunxi*, by whom that  
 “ tract was possessed. There they founded among other towns  
 “ Larissa, so called from a Larissa of their own in Pelopon-  
 “ nesus.

“ The Sicels, being driven by the Aborigines and Pelasgi  
 “ out of their original seats, pass over into Sicily, which was  
 “ at that time possessed by the Sicani, an Iberian tribe, who  
 “ had a little before been driven to seek refuge there from  
 “ the Ligurians. The Sicels settled at first in the western  
 “ parts of the island, and gradually spread till it began to be  
 “ called from them *Σικελία*. This migration of the Sicels into  
 “ Sicily happened according to Hellanicus in the third gene-  
 “ ration before the Trojan war, in the 26th year of the priest-  
 “ hood of Aleyonē at Argos. Hellanicus reckons two distinct  
 “ bodies of emigrators; the first of Elymi, who fled before the  
 “ Ænотrians; the second, five years later, of Ausonians, who  
 “ fled before the Iapyges; and he derives their name of Sicels  
 “ from a king *Sicelus*. Philistus reckons the date of this  
 “ migration to be the 80th year before the Trojan war, and  
 “ supposes that the people who passed into the island were  
 “ Ligurians, under the command of Sicelus son of Italus; and  
 “ that these Ligurians were driven into Sicily by the Umbri  
 “ and Pelasgi. Antiochus of Syracuse does not attempt to  
 “ fix the date of this event, but supposes the emigrants to  
 “ have been Sicels driven out by the Ænотrians and Opici.  
 “ Thucydides calls the colony Sicels, and their enemies Opici,  
 “ but dates the event after the Trojan war.

“ Meanwhile the Pelasgi, being established in Italy, after  
 “ some short time fell into great calamities, and made a se-  
 “ cond migration back again to Greece, and to many other  
 “ countries. The causes of this migration, and the circum-  
 “ stances, are told by Myrsilus of Lesbos; except that for  
 “ Pelasgi he substitutes Tyrrhenes. These Pelasgi, from their  
 “ residence in the neighbourhood of the Tuscans, had acquired  
 “ a skill in navigation, and were exercised in war. Hence,  
 “ from their coming out of the country of the Tyrrhenians,  
 “ the appellations of Pelasgi and Tyrrhenes were indifferently  
 “ applied to them, as by Thucydides, and by Sophocles in  
 “ the *Inachus*. The period at which the misfortunes of the  
 “ Pelasgi led them to this second migration was about the

“ second generation before the Trojan war ; and it continued  
“ after that war till the Pelasgians gradually declined in  
“ Italy ; for, except Croton in the Umbrian territory and a  
“ few towns among the Aborigines, the Pelasgian establish-  
“ ments in Italy decayed.

“ Among those who occupied the vacant seats of the Pe-  
“ lasgi in Italy, the Tyrrhenes were the chief ; a race consi-  
“ dered by some as indigenous in Italy. Others consider them  
“ as foreigners, who migrated thither under the conduct of  
“ Tyrrhenus, a Lydian. They think that Lydus and Tyr-  
“ rhenus were brothers, sons of Atys ; that Lydus remained  
“ in Asia Minor in the region named from him Lydia ; that  
“ Tyrrhenus led a colony into Italy. This is the account of  
“ Herodotus. According to others, Tyrrhenus was the son of  
“ Telephus, and came thither after the Trojan war. Xanthus  
“ of Lydia makes no mention of any settlement of Lydians in  
“ Italy, and makes the sons of Atys to be Lydus and Torybus,  
“ who both remained in Asia. Hellanicus, after mentioning  
“ that the Pelasgians were driven out of Greece by the Hel-  
“ lenes, relates that they settled in Italy, seized upon Croton,  
“ and occupied that country which was afterwards called  
“ Tyrrhenia. Myrsilus, on the contrary, says that the Tyr-  
“ rhenians, when they emigrated, were called Pelasgi from  
“ their wandering habits. My own opinion is, that those are  
“ in an error who account the Tyrrhenians and Pelasgi to be  
“ the same people ; that these names were naturally con-  
“ founded and applied indifferently to those who belonged to  
“ the same region, as often happens in such cases. Thus the  
“ names of Trojan and Phrygian are used as synonymous,  
“ and the Latins, Umbrians, and Ausonians, are all indiffer-  
“ ently called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks. That the Tyrrhenes  
“ and Pelasgi were a different people is proved by their lan-  
“ guages, which had no resemblance. Neither do I think the  
“ Tyrrhenes a colony of Lydians ; for there is no resemblance  
“ here in language. These two people differ in laws, in man-  
“ ners, and institutions. That opinion, then, seems the most  
“ probable, which supposes these people an indigenous race  
“ in Italy.

“ The Pelasgian settlers, then, who remained after these  
“ successive emigrations, were intermixed with the Aborigines



“ in Latium, till their descendants in process of time founded  
“ Rome. But in the 60th year before the Trojan war another  
“ Grecian colony settled in those parts of Italy under Evander  
“ of Arcadia, according to the accounts of the Romans them-  
“ selves. Evander emigrated from Arcadia in consequence of  
“ a faction in his own country. Faunus at that time was king  
“ of the Aborigines, who received the Arcadians amicably,  
“ and they were admitted to seat themselves on the Palatine  
“ hill, a space sufficient for the crews of two ships, the whole  
“ number of the followers of Evander. This prince brought  
“ with him into Italy the use of letters, which had been lately  
“ acquired by the Arcadians. This second colony of Greeks  
“ (after the Pelasgians from Thessaly) dwelt on the spot on  
“ which afterwards Rome was founded, in common with the  
“ Aborigines.”

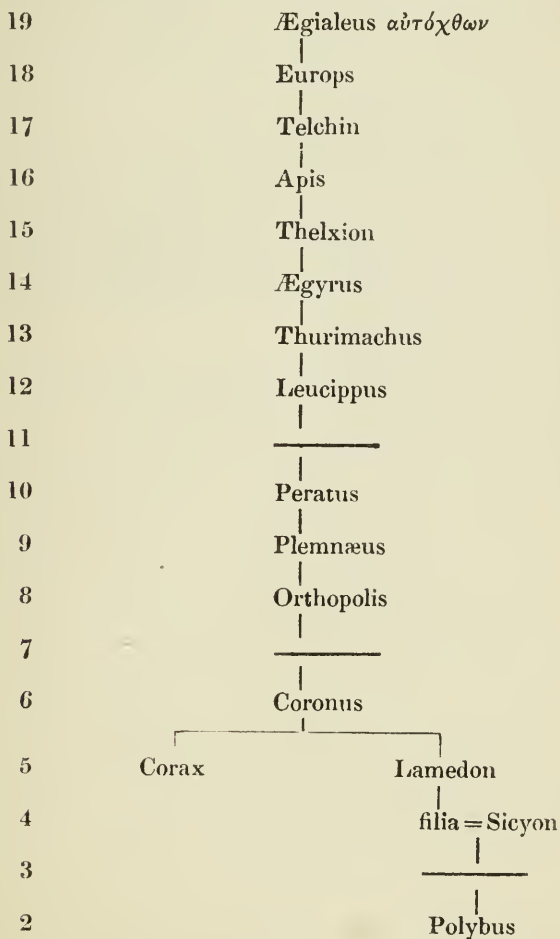
These testimonies in Dionysius establish the fact that Pelasgi from Greece emigrated to Italy; but the circumstances and the time of that earliest migration are lost in remote antiquity. In the account of the Ænotrian colony there appear to have been two traditions; one which placed it 17 generations before the Trojan war; another which derived it from Arcadia. Dionysius and Pausanias have both confounded these two traditions together. It is not likely that the Ænotrians proceeded from Arcadia; but, if they are rightly referred to the 17th generation, they proceeded from Peloponnesus during the period when the whole of Greece was under one dominion, of which Argos was the head; and long before the Arcadian dynasty existed. If the tradition which calls these colonists the children of Lycaon rightly marks their time, they proceeded to Italy in the 7th generation before the Trojan war. But Ænotrus and Peucetius, like Macedon and Thesprotus, are called sons of Lycaon only because these were all Pelasgic tribes, and because Arcadia was by some considered as the source of the Pelasgi. This genealogy, then, cannot be wholly trusted as any sure indication even of their time. The time assigned, however, is probable; for if the Ænotri and Peucetii proceeded from Peloponnesus in the 7th generation before the war of Troy, this emigration would coincide with the period of that general movement in Greece



which we have already noticed, and in which so many new dynasties arose: it would also agree with the time of that other Pelasgic migration, which proceeded from Thessaly to Italy upon the rise of the Hellenes.

According to the account of Dionysius, the Pelasgi might begin to decline in the south of Italy about B. C. 1170. We have evidence, however, that the country was still occupied by a Pelasgic population near 500 years after that period; for when the Greek colonies were planted in *Magna Græcia* they found the inhabitants to be Pelasgi, whom they reduced to the condition of vassals.

Contemporary with the Pelasgic kings of Argos another Pelasgic dynasty reigned at Sicily. Ægialeus the founder is made contemporary with Phoroneus, and placed in the 19th generation before the Trojan war by Pausanias, from whom we obtain the following genealogy:



Of Apis the fourth king Pausanias observes: "He became

“ so powerful that the country within the Isthmus was called “ *Apia* from him.” Between Corax the 13th king and Lamedon Epopeus intervened. Lamedon was succeeded by Sicyon, and he by Polybus the 17th king of Sicyon. With Polybus the original dynasty failed ; for he was succeeded by Adrastus king of Argos. After Adrastus followed Janiscus, of Attic descent ; then Phæstus a son of Hercules ; then Zeuxippus, upon whose death Agamemnon subjected Sicyon. Hippolytus, who reigned at the time of the expedition of Agamemnon, was grandson of Phæstus. He was succeeded by his son Lacestades, in whose time Phalces son of Temenus occupied Sicyon.

Of the 21 kings who reigned before the Trojan war, the eight last were included within a century ; for Epopeus, the 14th king in this account, was contemporary with Labdacus. The 13 reigns which preceded Epopeus, estimated at 30 years to each, would give only 390 years ; and the first king of Sicyon would be placed less than 500 years before the Trojan era. According to Castor, Zeuxippus is the 26th king ; and to these 26 reigns are ascribed 959 years. They are followed by six Carnean priests for 33 years, and these terminate 352 years before the Olympiad of Corœbus. This chronology, which is followed by Eusebius and Syncellus, places Ægialeus 940 years before the Trojan war, and eight or nine generations before Phoroneus.

These are the two lists of Pausanias and Castor :







According to this genealogy *Tyndareus* was of Lelegian race, and the Leleges possessed Messenia as well as Laconia until the *Æolidæ* came into that province about three generations before the Trojan war.

The Leleges, like the Pelasgi, were found in Asia Minor and the Islands. According to Herodotus they held the islands in the time of Minos; according to Strabo they were anciently intermixed with the Carians, and were found in many parts of Asia Minor. They were in the Troad down to the time of the Trojan war, and occupied Ionia till the Ionian colonists expelled them. Pausanias also records this last particular, and their residence in these countries is attested by occasional notices in the early poets. The Leleges, like the Pelasgi, of whom they seem to have been a part, gradually disappeared before the Hellenes, by whom they were reduced to the state of vassals. Hence Eratosthenes reckoned them among the extinct races of Asia.

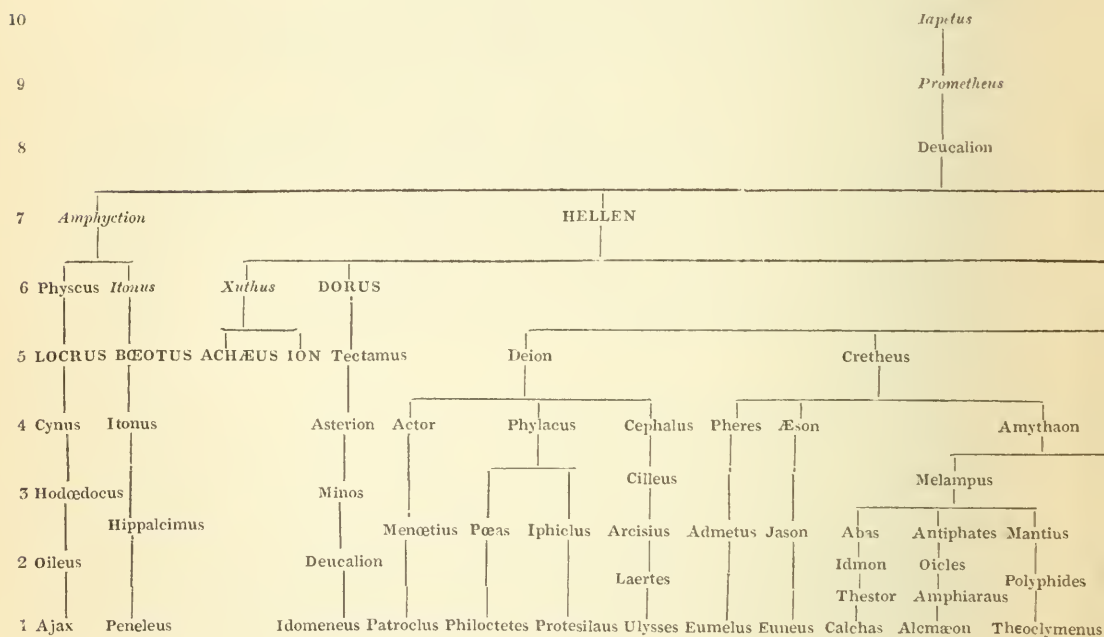
With the Pelasgi and Leleges the CAUCONS and DRYOPES are named by Strabo among the early inhabitants of Greece. Of these the Caucons are traced in the west of Peloponnesus. Like the Pelasgi and Leleges, they found their way into Asia, where they appear in the *Iliad* among the forces of Troy and are placed by Strabo in Paphlagonia. He considers the Caucons an extinct race.

The Dryopes inhabited mount *Æta* for three generations before *Hercules*, by whom they were expelled and transplanted into Peloponnesus. They may also be traced in the early times in the neighbourhood of Ambracia. The genealogies concerning the Dryopes all attest a Pelasgic original. Aristides mentions the Dryopes and Pelasgi together as *extinct Hellenic races*.

The AONES TEMMICES and HYANTES are found in Boëotia in the time of Cadmus. Pausanias relates that the Ectenes were said to have been the first inhabitants of the Thebaid; that their king was Ogygus, an indigenous chief; that they were destroyed by a pestilence; and that the Hyantes and Aones (native Boëotian clans, in the opinion of Pausanias) succeeded the Ectenes in the occupation of the country; that Cadmus coming with an army defeated them in a battle; that he permitted the Aones to remain and mingled them with

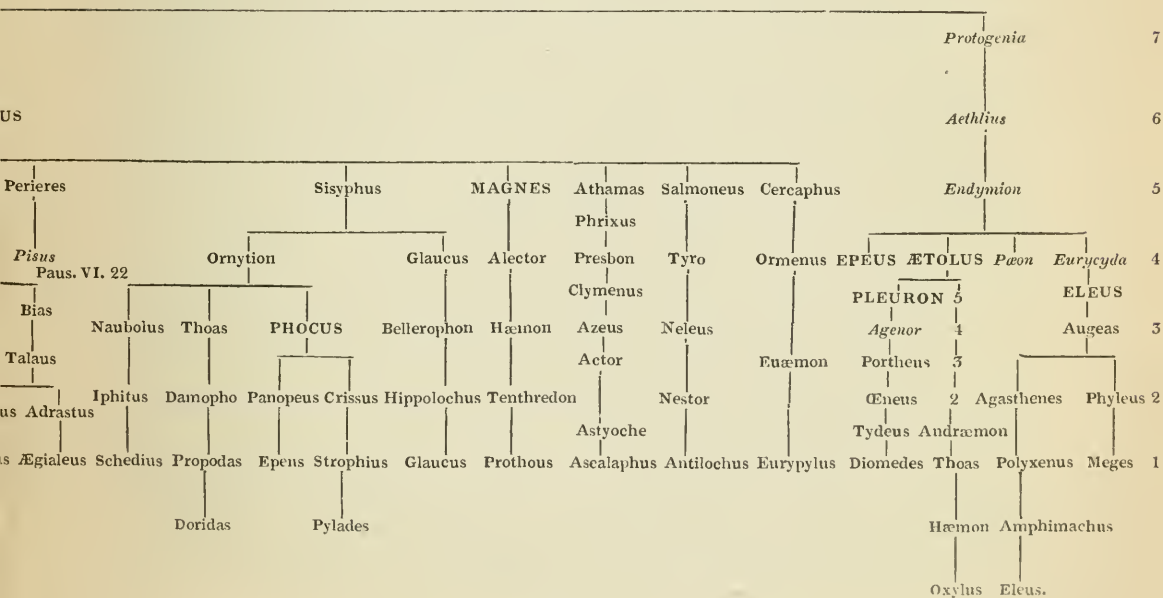
his Phœnicians, but that the Hyantes after their overthrow withdrew out of the country. The Hyantes thus ejected may be traced in Phocis and Ætolia. The *Temmices* are named by Strabo Stephanus and Lycophron. If Cadmus may be placed about 130 years before the fall of Troy, it will follow that these tribes, the Aones, Temmices, and Hyantes, were still found in Bœotia after the period at which the Dorians and Æolians were established in Thessaly.

The CARIANS, who were considered by Herodotus and many other writers the same people as the Leleges, were masters of the southern islands of the Ægæan sea till Minos subdued them in the third generation before the Trojan war. They had also occupied the eastern coast of Peloponnesus. How long they retained possession of the islands is not recorded; but Isocrates implies that they did not appear there earlier than the times of Danaus and Cadmus, five or six generations before Minos. They afterwards passed into Asia Minor and dwelt in the country around Miletus till the Ionians expelled them about eight generations after the reign of Minos. It seems however that after the death of Minos they retained



or at least recovered possession of the Cyclades; and were not finally expelled till the time of the Ionian colonies; for Isocrates and Plutarch describe them as possessing those islands after the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, and ascribe their expulsion to the Athenians. After the Ionian settlement, the Carians appear to have been confined to the province called Caria from them. The Carians of that province acknowledged a connexion with the Mysians and Lydians. In the time of the Trojan war the Carians, like the Pelasgi and Leleges, had been already in part expelled from their original seats, and inhabited the country near Miletus. They were early considered as barbarians; and yet in a late period it was remarked that many Greek terms were found in their language.

IV Having taken this short survey of the early tribes, we proceed to consider the HELLENES, who traced the beginning of their power to Deucalion. The descendants or reputed descendants of Deucalion down to the Trojan war are delivered to us in the following manner:



1 *Deucalion* is placed 365 years before the fall of Troy by the Parian Marble, and 358 by Eusebius. But, as by the genealogies, which were their sole authorities, Deucalion is only in the eighth generation before the Trojan era, this period is too long by at least a century, and we may reckon not more than 250 years from Deucalion to the fall of Troy. He is the son of Prometheus, who is the brother of *Atlas*, and Atlas reigned in Arcadia. Prometheus himself was seated in Peloponnesus. The followers of Deucalion were Curetes and Leleges. It seems then that Deucalion the reputed founder of the Hellenes may himself be traced to a Pelasgic original.

His kingdom is placed in Thessaly. According to the Parian Marble his seat was at Lycorea in Phocis. Pindar makes Opus his first habitation after the flood; others stationed him at Cynus. The flood of Deucalion is placed by Aristotle near Dodona. It was generally however placed in Thessaly; near mount Othrys by Hellanicus. According to some authorities the flood of Deucalion extended to Attica, according to others it reached the neighbourhood of Delphi. It was limited however to Thessaly and the adjoining districts, or at least to Northern Greece, by the early accounts. It seems to have been gradually invested with the circumstances of the general Deluge.

2 Hellen and his sons are acknowledged by Hesiod and even by Thucydides. Other accounts generally agree that Hellen was the son of Deucalion, that he reigned in Phthiotis, and that from him the Greeks were called Hellenes. Some make Hellen the son of Prometheus and extend his authority to Bœotia. Hellen the founder of Hellas in Thessaly was said by another tradition to be the son of Phthius and grandson of Achæus. This Achæus we have already seen was the son of Larissa and the grandson of Pelasgus in the tenth generation before the war of Troy. This genealogy accordingly derives Hellen the founder of Hellas from a Pelasgic origin. But, as Hellen the son of Deucalion or Jupiter or Prometheus is only known to us as a king of Phthiotis, we may conclude that under Hellen the son of Phthius the same person is described. The name Hellen will in both cases express the Hellenic chief who, about seven generations before the Trojan war, founded a Hellenic state in Phthiotis. From this begin-



ning the influence of the Hellenes was gradually extended until their name became general for the Grecian people. It is not clear at what time the name Hellenes became general for the whole Greek nation. In the *Iliad* this name is only given to the town in Phthiotis; in the *Odyssey* it is used in a wider sense. Apollodorus remarks that Hesiod and Archilochus used the term for the Greeks generally. The term Hellenic then was gradually extended, and came to be applied to the whole Greek nation after the Trojan war and before the time of Hesiod.

3 Æolus after the death of Hellen reigned in Phthiotis. Five of his sons are named by Hesiod; seven sons and five daughters by Apollodorus. Others give him ten sons, one of whom is *Macedon*. From these children of Æolus were descended the chief families in every part of Greece. Some of the descendants of Deion were seated in Thessaly; Cephalus occupied Cephallenia; Perieres son of Æolus possessed Messenia, Magnes Magnesia. The descendants of Sisyphus reigned at Corinth. From Sisyphus and Athamas were sprung the kings of Orchomenus. Salmoneus was seated in Elis, and his descendants Neleus and Nestor in the neighbouring district of Triphylia. Adrastus, another descendant of Æolus, became king of Argos. At the time of the Trojan war five states of Thessaly, and Ithaca Phocis and Orchomenus in central and western Greece, were led by Æolian chiefs. The Ætoli by one tradition were Æolian, and by some accounts Bœotus the founder of the Bœoti was derived through Mimas from Æolus.

Of Æolus himself nothing is told except that he reigned in some part of Thessaly, and no acts are ascribed to him commensurate with the power which his sons are reported to have exercised in every part of Greece. Whence we may infer that Æolus was nothing more than a personification of the *Æoles*. The sons of Æolus named by Hesiod (three of whom are attested by Homer), and perhaps Deion, seem to be real persons, but no otherwise brothers than as they were contemporary chiefs of Æolian race. Æolus himself is not distinctly named in the *Iliad*.

4 Xuthus is called the son of Hellen and father of Achæus

and Ion. He is driven first from Thessaly into Attica and then from Attica into Peloponnesus, where he settles and dies. Both his father and his sons appear to have been imaginary persons, nations and not individuals. It is therefore probable that Xuthus himself was also an imaginary person; and we may concur with Müller in rejecting him. The name of Xuthus is traced in Sicily, where another Xuthus son of another Æolus is placed by Diodorus.

5 Achæus son of Xuthus settled in Laconia, and the inhabitants were called Achæans from him. According to other accounts he returned to Thessaly, and the Achæans of Thessaly received their name from Achæus son of Xuthus.

We may discern in this account of Achæus an example of the name of a people converted into the name of a person, and of the practice of ascribing to one person the acts of many persons and of distant times. It has been shewn already that the Achæans were in Phthiotis many generations before the time assigned to Achæus son of Xuthus. The Achæans of Laconia, where an exile seeking refuge is supposed to have given his name to a whole people, also preceded him in time. The other account, which derives the Achæans from Achæus son or brother of Phthius, better marks the progress and the time of this people; who first appear in Phthiotis (having gone forth, according to Dionysius, out of the Pelasgi of Argos) two generations before Deucalion. That they were known before the time of Xuthus the supposed father of their founder appears from the account given of Xuthus himself, who is called an Achæan by Euripides.

The history of the two persons called Achæus connects the Achæans with two races. The account of Dionysius derives them from the Pelasgi; the legends respecting Achæus son of Xuthus connect them with the Hellenes. They are made the parents of the Hellenes in the legend which describes Achæus as the father of Phthius and grandfather of Hellen. They accompany Neleus and the Æolidæ into Peloponnesus. They inhabit Alos, a town founded by Athamas, whose inhabitants retained the name of Achæans down to the time of Herodotus. This connexion of the Achæans with both races contributes to shew an affinity between the Hellenes

and Pelasgi. The Achæans were planted in Argos and Laconia about the time of Danaus, and occupied those provinces till the time of the Dorian conquest.

6 Ion son of Xuthus and brother of Achæus is acknowledged by Herodotus and described by Philochorus Strabo and Pausanias. From him Attica and the northern shore of Peloponnesus were called Ionia. Even Aristotle acknowledged Ion. He is accounted the teacher of the religious ceremonies, and is placed by Eusebius 150 years before the Trojan era, a period consistent with the genealogy which places Ion in the fifth generation before that epoch. The four sons of Ion, from whom the four tribes of Attica were named, are mentioned by Euripides and by Herodotus. Strabo and Plutarch suppose the names of the four tribes to mark four classes into which the people were distributed; an opinion according to Hermann founded upon Plato. Boeckh and others, adopting this opinion, have supposed that the inhabitants of Attica were divided into castes according to the practice of Egypt and India; every man in each successive generation being confined to the occupation of his fathers. Hermann however rejects this; and, without better evidence than we have, it is difficult to believe that there ever existed in Attica an institution so pernicious and so subversive of all improvement. There are no traces of such an institution in any part of Greece excepting only in Crete, where the military class was distinct from the agricultural, according to a brief notice in Aristotle<sup>d</sup> which appears to mean no more than this; that the Dorian conquerors of Crete retained for themselves alone the use of arms, and assigned to the subject class the cultivation of the soil. With respect to Attica there is an inconsistency in the supposition that the division into four castes was instituted by Ion. For this division into castes was supposed to come from Egypt; and Ion was not Egyptian. In the preceding names of the four tribes in the times of Cecrops and Cranaus and Erichthonius recorded by Pollux there are no indications of the distribution into castes, and

<sup>d</sup> Aristot. Rep. VII 10, 1 ἔοικε δ' οὐ νῦν οὐδὲ νεωστὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι γνώριμον τοῖς περὶ πολιτείας φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ διηρῆσθαι χωρὶς κατὰ γένη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ τε μάχιμον ἕτερον εἶναι καὶ τὸ γεωρ-

γούν· ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε γὰρ ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἔτι καὶ νῦν, τὰ τε περὶ τὴν Κρήτην, τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Αἰγύπτου Σεσώστριος (ὥς φασιν) οὕτω νομοθετήσαντος, Μίνω δὲ τὰ περὶ Κρήτην.



yet, if this division had been introduced at all, we might have expected to find it referred to the Egyptian Cecrops. And if this institution had ever prevailed at all, it would have been of all others the most difficult to change and the most deeply rooted in the habits of the people, as we see in the Indian castes to this day. But the four Ionic tribes remained unchanged through the times of Solon and the Pisistratidæ down to B.C. 510. And yet through all that period no traces appeared of that institution. It had insensibly vanished, and no tradition recorded when or by whom or through what revolution it had been abolished. Moreover Euripides from his etymology of the word *Ægicoreis* appears to have known nothing of this division into castes or of the derivation of the names from the occupations. Finally, the accounts even of Strabo and Plutarch, which suppose a distribution into four occupations, do not affirm that these occupations were hereditary, and imposed upon all succeeding generations. If then the four Ionic tribes had described four classes or occupations, those classes might have been analogous to the four classes of Solon, the members of which were not debarred from rising into another class either in themselves or their posterity<sup>c</sup>.

As Achæus son of Xuthus was not the founder of the Achæans, so neither did his brother Ion found the Ionians, who existed before the time to which Ion son of Xuthus is ascribed. Ionians may be traced in Illyricum, in the neighbourhood of Dodona, in Eubœa, which was named Hellopia from Hellops son of Ion. They appear before his time even in Attica, where *Iaones* were among the ancient inhabitants of the country. The numbers 4 and 12 marked the Ionians, as the number 3 marked the Dorians. Hence some have considered the division of the Phæacians into 12 as one proof that these were an Ionian people. But the division into 12 prevailed in Attica in the time of Cecrops. The four tribes were not first instituted in the time of Ion. These also existed in the reign of Cecrops. Again, the worship of Neptune was an Ionian worship. But this worship was of the highest antiquity in Attica. Neptune was the original god of the country and preceded Minerva. The hereditary priest of

<sup>c</sup> See in Pollux VIII. 131 the instance of *Anthemion*, who ἀπὸ τοῦ θητικῆς τέλους εἰς τὴν ἱππάδα μετέστη.

Neptune is Butes brother of Erechtheus. But if these characters of the Ionian race, the division into 4 and 12, and the worship of Neptune, were of such remote antiquity in Attica, we are to conclude that the Ionians were in that province long before the period to which Ion son of Xuthus is ascribed. And these indications concur with the testimony of Herodotus, who affirms that the Ionians were Pelasgic and indigenous; a testimony confirmed by what has been already shewn of their brethren the Achæans. Ion then and Achæus were both of Pelasgic original. The genealogy which made them brothers and derived them from Hellen through Xuthus establishes an affinity between the two tribes, and perhaps a connexion with the Hellenes; but the nations whose names they bore, and who existed before the time in which they are placed, were Pelasgic nations.

The preceding considerations lead us to this conclusion concerning the progress of the Ionians; that they were Pelasgic and aboriginal in Attica, existing there at least as early as the time of Cecrops; that from thence a part of this nation proceeded into Peloponnesus, marked in the genealogy by the progress thither of Xuthus father of Ion from Attica, about five or six generations before the Trojan war; nearly coinciding with the period at which the *Arcades* appeared in Arcadia, the *Æoles* and *Dores* in Thessaly, who all are placed in the sixth generation; and a little before the time at which the *Ætoli* and *Epei* are first heard of in the west of Peloponnesus, who are referred to the fourth generation before that era. There seems then no just reason for rejecting the well-known boast of the Athenians that they were an aboriginal people; an account which is repeated by many writers, and which derives authority from Thucydides, who affirms the fact and assigns the cause.

The accounts concerning Ion and his four sons are not well adjusted to the Attic history. While his influence remodelled the constitution, the Attic kings reigned without interruption. The four tribes are named from the sons of Ion in the reign of Erechtheus by one account; and yet Ion himself is the grandson of Erechtheus and first appears in Attica in the reign of the second Cecrops. The years and reigns of the Attic kings are delivered with a show of authority propor-

tioned rather to the subsequent fame of Athens than to the degree of evidence; and the history of Attica before the Trojan war is more obscure than that of many other parts of Greece. Eusebius following Castor thus assigns the years of these kings down to the Trojan era :

<i>Anno</i>		<i>Annos</i>
461.	1 <i>Cecrops</i> .....	50
511.	2 <i>Cranaus indigena</i> .....	9
520.	3 <i>Amphictyon Deucalionis f.</i> .....	10 (9)
530.	4 <i>Erechtheus seu Erichthonius</i> ...	50
580.	5 <i>Pandion I Erichthonii f.</i> .....	40
620.	6 <i>Erechtheus Pandionis f.</i> .....	50
670.	7 <i>Cecrops II frater Erichthei</i> ...	40
710.	8 <i>Pandion II Erichthei f.</i> .....	25
735.	9 <i>Ægeus Pandionis f.</i> .....	48
783.	10 <i>Theseus Ægei f.</i> .....	30
813.	11 <i>Menestheus Petei f.</i> .....	23
835.	<i>Ilium captum</i> .....	375

*A primo autem anno Cecropis usque ad Trojæ excidium atque ad 23<sup>um</sup> Menesthei conficiuntur anni 376.*

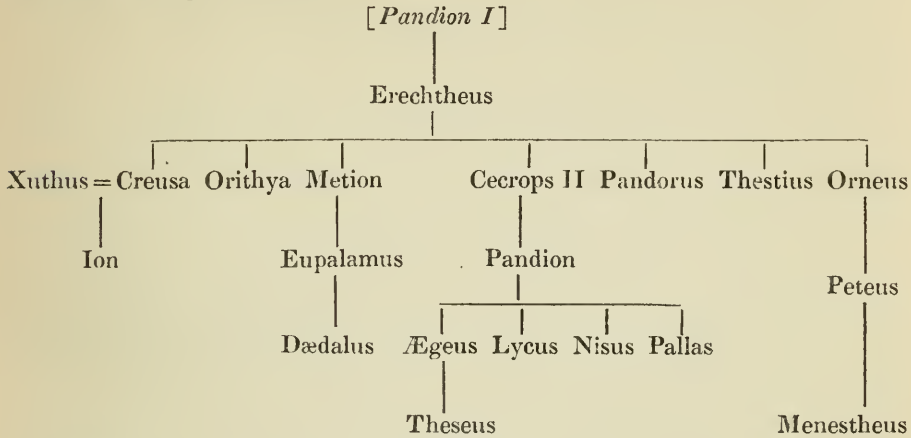
All these kings are recognised by the Parian Marble, from which nearly the same dates are obtained; for Cecrops is placed in the 374th year before the fall of Troy, which is referred to the 22nd year of Menestheus.

These 11 kings are acknowledged by Pausanias and Apollodorus. According to Apollodorus Cecrops was an indigenous chief. Some accounts derive him from Egypt. But the Egyptian settlement of Cecrops, if he was Egyptian, made little impression upon the country; for he had no successors of his own race, and the next kings, Cranaus Amphictyon and Erichthonius, were all natives of the country; and Isocrates considers the Attic kings to be properly founded by Erichthonius.

The years assigned to the first kings are inconsistent with the facts. Erechtheus the father-in-law of Xuthus would be contemporary with Hellen and Amphictyon; and yet between Amphictyon and Erechtheus are interposed two reigns and 90 years. But these two reigns we may with Newton expunge from the list, as inconsistent with the other traditions. Under



the names of Erichthonius or Erechtheus appears to be described a native chief of Ionian race, who in the fourth or fifth generation before the war of Troy introduced or restored the worship of Minerva in Attica, and, perhaps with the aid of the Ionians of Peloponnesus, carried on war against Eleusis. From him Theseus and Menestheus were said to be descended. The genealogy is this :



Pandion the father of Ægeus is said to have divided his kingdom among his four sons, and is supposed to have possessed Megara as well as Attica. Thucydides however remarks that the authority of these early kings was very limited; and it appears from Pausanias that many traditions of the boroughs differed from those in the city, and many early kings or founders were recorded who seem to have belonged to the aboriginal race.

Ægeus and Theseus are not named in the Iliad, except in a line of suspected authority. Theseus and Ariadne occur in the Odyssey. Æthra is mentioned in the Iliad, supposed by very early authorities to be the mother of Theseus; but, as neither Theseus nor his sons appear in the Iliad, and as the age of Theseus creates a difficulty, those critics seem to be right who think that the mother of Theseus is not named in the Iliad.

7 Amphictyon son of Deucalion is said to have instituted the Amphictyonic meeting at Thermopylæ. His temple there is mentioned by Herodotus. Some accounts traced the name of the Amphictyonic meeting to another origin. According to others Acrisius established an Amphictyonic meeting at Delphi in imitation of that at Thermopylæ. We may observe

a junction of Pelasgic and Hellenic races in their assembly. The Pelasgian Acrisius and the Hellenic Amphictyon share in the establishment. Among the nations who compose the league are the Ionians; and we trace in the number of the states the Ionian number 12. But, as the institution is ascribed to Amphictyon in the seventh and Acrisius in the sixth generations before the Trojan war, this account of the time supposes the existence of Ionians before the birth of Ion son of Xuthus.

Amphictyon according to some accounts reigned in Attica and Bœotia. Other traditions placed him in Locris; others again in Thessaly. From Amphictyon were supposed to be derived Ajax the Locrian leader and Bœotus the founder of the Bœotians. But other genealogies placed Bœotus two generations before Æolus. Others derived him from Æolus son of Hellen, who is thus thrown back nine generations before the Trojan war.

The Locri and Bœoti, the supposed children of Amphictyon, were not of the same tribe. The Locri were Leleges, the Bœoti were Æolian. The genealogies which represented them as descendants of Amphictyon probably meant no more than to mark them as neighbouring nations. The assembly said to have been instituted at Thermopylæ by Amphictyon son of Hellen was chiefly composed of Pelasgic states and celebrated a Pelasgian worship, the worship of Ceres. Of the 12 states only three were of Hellenic descent. The place where Amphictyon himself reigned or dwelt is uncertain. The form of his name bears the marks of fabrication. His existence appears to have been questioned both by Anaximenes and Androtio. For all these reasons we may reject Amphictyon as a fictitious person.

8 Dorus is made by Euripides the son of Xuthus. But in the account of Hesiod and others he is the son of Hellen, by whom he is sent out of Thessaly in the fifth generation before the war of Troy to seek an establishment for himself. Herodotus describes five movements of the Dorians. Their first station in the eighth generation before the Trojan war was in Phthiotis; their next, in the sixth generation before that era, was under Ossa and Olympus in Histiaëotis. Expelled from thence by the Cadmeans, they removed to a third position

in Pindus. Their fourth settlement was in Dryopis. From Dryopis they came with the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. The third and fourth settlements here described are not distinguished by other writers, who mark the progress from *Histiæotis* to the *tetrapolis* of *Æta*.

The expulsion by the Cadmeans would occur after the second Theban war. But, as Dorians were probably already settled in Parnassus before that epoch, we may reconcile the seeming difference by supposing that the whole Dorian people did not emigrate at once, and that a part still remained in *Histiæotis* after their companions had penetrated to Parnassus and *Æta*. According to Herodotus the Dorians occupied *Histiæotis* for about five generations from the time of Dorus son of Hellen till near the time of the Trojan war.

A colony of Dorians under Tectamus son of Dorus proceeded from Thessaly to Crete. Minos was the grandson of Tectamus. The legislation of Minos, his naval power and extended dominion, and his position in the fourth generation from Dorus and the third before the Trojan war, are attested by Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle, who confirm the accounts of Ephorus, Apollodorus, Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Pausanias. The Dorians of Crete had a greater power during the reign of Minos than the Dorians had in their original country in Proper Greece.

V By the families which remain to be considered no new race of people was introduced. DANAUS and his descendants were engrafted on the Pelasgi; CADMUS and the Labdacidæ on the Aborigines of Bœotia; PELOPS and the Pelopidæ were incorporated with the Æolians and Achæans; HERCULES and his posterity were adopted by the Dorians. The Arcadian kings belonged to the original Pelasgic stock.

1 *Danaus* is placed by the genealogies in the ninth or tenth generation, and by the chronologers 300 years, before the Trojan war. He was accompanied or followed into Greece by Lynceus, who succeeded him. Lynceus was the father of Abas, who had two sons, Prætus and Acrisius. From Acrisius Eurystheus was the fourth descendant and Hercules the fifth; and yet some traditions made Prætus contemporary with Bellerophon and Melampus, who lived in the third or fourth generation before the Trojan war. The difficulty was



increased by the dates of the chronologers, who made two successive reigns of Prœtus and Acrisius.

Acrisius was said to have retired to Thessaly, where memoirs of him were recorded. His share in the Amphictyonic league has been already noticed. The descent of Eurystheus from Acrisius is recorded by Homer, who names Acrisius Danae Perseus Sthenelus Eurystheus, and accordingly ascends in this line to the sixth generation before the war of Troy. Perseus returning into Argolis reigned at Mycenæ Midea and Tiryns, while Megapenthes son of Acrisius reigned at Argos. The four sons of Perseus are said to have reigned after him in common. At the same time three dynasties were reigning at Argos. These petty chieftains, who are called kings, could have had very little power, and the account which is given of the successors of Perseus is not quite consistent with those three contemporary races of kings at Argos.

Hercules is reckoned the fourth from Perseus, being the grandson of Electryon through Alcmena and of Alcæus through Amphitryo. Chronologers adopted two theories concerning his time. Some followed a longer and others a shorter computation. According to one series of dates in Clemens, which were those of Apollodorus, the death of Hercules was placed about 53 years before the fall of Troy; according to another series (probably the dates of Thrasyllus), a little more than 24 years before that epoch. The following Table gives a comparative view of each; the years are the years before the capture of Troy.

LONGER COMPUTATION.	SHORTER COMPUTATION.
186 Reign of Perseus.	202 Rape of Ganymede.
154 Apotheosis of Bacchus.	187 Expedition of Perseus.
91 The Argonauts. Reign of Hercules at Argos.	153 Ilium founded.
	89 The Argonauts.
	57 Theseus and the Minotaur.
53 Apotheosis of Hercules and Æsculapins.	47 First Theban war.
	44 Olympic games of Hercules.
	35 Rape of Helen by Theseus. War of the Amazons.
	24 Apotheosis of Hercules.
	(20) Rape of Helen by Paris.
— Apotheosis of Castor and Pollux.	— Troy taken.

We have already seen that the shorter computation is more consistent with the notices in Homer, and this is confirmed by other passages in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Tlepolemus son of Hercules is recorded in the *Iliad* to have led forces to the Trojan war from Rhodes, where he planted a colony after the death of Hercules.

2 *Pelops* is placed by Tatian Clemens and Eusebius in the time of Acrisius. By one date in Eusebius he is named in the time of Lynceus 254 years before the Trojan era. Other dates assign his marriage with Hippodamia to the 168th year, his reign to the 135th year, and the succession of Atreus to the 90th year before that era. Castor places the death of Pelops 85 years before the fall of Troy. These dates of the chronologers are too high for the time of Pelops. It appears from the time of Hercules, whom Eurystheus and Atreus survived, that Atreus was still living about 20 years before the fall of Troy. It is not likely then that the death of Pelops occurred more than 60 years, or his occupation of Pisa more than 100 years, before that era. The traditions concerning Pelops will not carry him higher than that period.

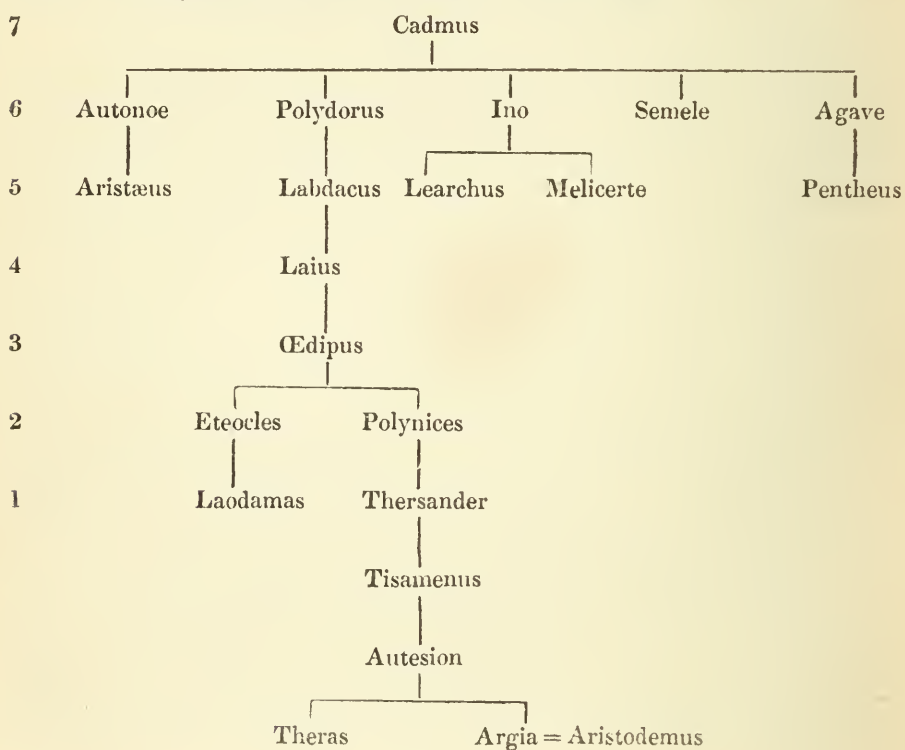
The Pelopidæ might be traced in many parts of Peloponnesus, not only in Pisatis the original seat of Pelops himself, and at Mycenæ the seat of his sons and grandsons, but at Trœzen and in Laconia.

Atreus reigned after Pelops in Pisatis, and upon the testimony of Homer received the sceptre with the consent of his father. After the death of Eurystheus he acquired Mycenæ towards the end of his life, when he was probably advanced in age; being the uncle of his predecessor. Hence his reign at Mycenæ and that of Thyestes were contained within the narrow space between Eurystheus and Agamemnon. Agamemnon himself was either the son or grandson of Atreus, and yet was preceded by Thyestes. Apparently to reconcile this, the grammarians and interpreters invented the account that Agamemnon was left a minor and that Thyestes governed as his guardian. This however is not very probable; for Eurystheus was slain about 24 years before the fall of Troy; and, if Atreus survived him, which Thucydides affirms, Atreus was living 21 or 22 years before that epoch. But Agamemnon, who was more than 40 years of age at the time of the action of the *Iliad*, must have been near 20 before the death of

Atreus. Moreover Homer describes Thyestes as holding the sceptre in the same terms in which he had described Atreus. It is likely then that Atreus and Thyestes both successively held the sceptre by some mutual compact, and that it was afterwards to descend to Agamemnon then in early youth. If the 18th year of Agamemnon's reign had commenced at the fall of Troy, the short interval of six years remains from the death of Eurystheus to be distributed between Atreus and Thyestes; in which there is no impossibility, when it is remembered that they were both older than Eurystheus. The extensive influence of Agamemnon is remarked by Thucydides, and indications may be traced in other accounts.

3 Cadmus is placed by the Parian Marble 268 years before the first Theban war and 310 before the fall of Troy. He is a little before Danaüs in the Marble, a little after him in Diodorus, with whom those chronologers agree who refer him to the time of Lynceus. Eusebius has various dates according to the various authors whom he followed, referring Cadmus to the 273rd year before the Trojan war, and to the 247th year. All these dates are inconsistent with the traditions delivered concerning Cadmus and his descendants.

The genealogy from Cadmus to Theras, who lived in the time of Eurysthenes and Procles, is as follows :

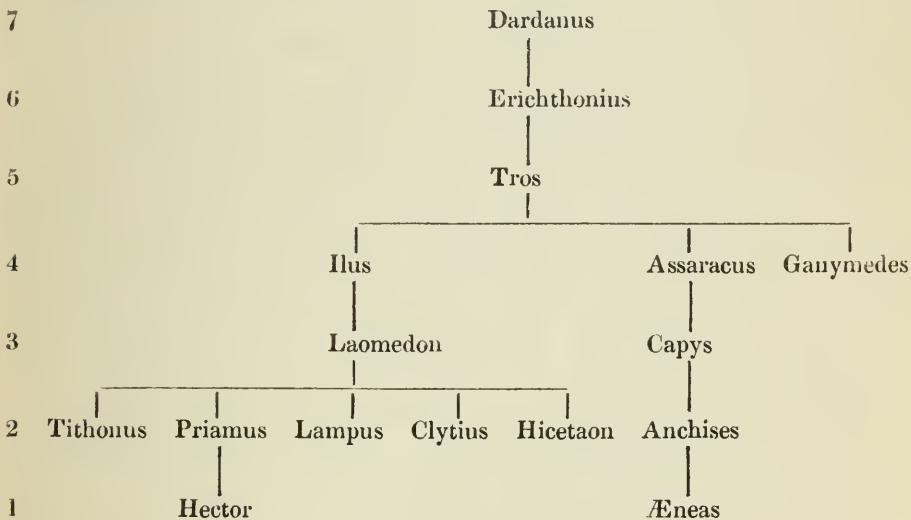




Eteocles fell in the first Theban war about 30 years before the Trojan period. Between Cadmus and Eteocles are four descents, Polydorus, Labdacus, Laius, Œdipus; and of these the second and third were minors under the successive care of the same guardian. Laius was slain: Eteocles fell in battle. We cannot then assign more than a century to the period which elapsed from the coming of Cadmus to the death of Eteocles; which will place Cadmus at about 130 years before the fall of Troy. And this date, thus confirmed by the incidents, is given from Castor by Eusebius, and seems to be approved by Eusebius himself.

Hellanicus makes Cadmus contemporary with Dardanus; but Dardanus, although probably before the time of Cadmus, is also placed too high by the chronologers, and the five generations recorded in the Iliad between Dardanus and Hector will not admit of more than 200 years between the establishment of Dardanus and the fall of the city.

Homer gives this genealogy:



4 The Arcadian kings were traced to Pelasgus, who appears in Arcadia in the ninth or tenth generation before the Trojan war. Lycaon son of Pelasgus had 50 sons. Nyctimus son of Lycaon was by one tradition the father of Callisto, and Callisto was the mother of Arcas. Arcas had three sons, Azan, Aphidas, Elatus. From Aphidas Agapenor, who leads the Arcadians in the Homeric Catalogue, and Echemus king of Tegea in the time of Hyllus, were the fifth descendants.

Hippothus, also in the same generation, being the fifth from Elatus, succeeded Agapenor after the Trojan war. His grandson Cypselus reigned at the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus. According to Pausanias there were 12 generations (both inclusive) from Cypselus to Aristocrates II, who was king of Orchomenus in the second Messenian war. In the Arcadians, then, the original Pelasgic race remained unchanged in Peloponnesus through all the revolutions which ensued upon the return of the Heraclidæ.

VI The preceding view of the early inhabitants of Greece will lead us to the conclusion that the *Pelasgi*, *Leleges*, *Dryopes*, *Aones*, and other antehellenic tribes, were the same race as the Hellenes themselves. Niebuhr, who admits that the Arcadians the most ancient Argives and the Ionians were *Pelasgi*, who admits that the Pelasgi and Hellenes agreed in religion, yet asserts that the Hellenes and the Pelasgians were totally distinct races. But, if the Hellenes had been a different people from the Pelasgi, either that original Pelasgic race must have been extirpated, or some marks of a different language would have remained. But in Greece the aboriginal race was not extirpated; for we have seen that after the Trojan war, and after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, when the several members of the Greek nation were settled in the states which they finally occupied, many Pelasgic tribes remained in the country. The Arcadians were Pelasgic. In Thessaly both the governing and the subject classes were Pelasgic. The Achæans of Peloponnesus were claimed by both races. The legend which made Achæus son of Xuthus referred them to the Hellenes. Another account of an earlier Achæus son of Larissa derives them from a Pelasgic origin. A remarkable proof of the influence of the Pelasgi to a late period is exhibited in the list of Amphictyonic states. That assembly was probably formed 60 years after the fall of Troy; and yet of the 12 nations which composed the league nine were of Pelasgic race. Even in the states which were conquered by the Dorians or other Hellenic tribes, the original inhabitants were not extirpated. The governing class was changed, but the body of the people remained. In Argolis Laconia Sicynia and Corinth, although the Dorians were the masters, yet the *periæci* or subject

classes were still composed of the original occupiers of the country, and were of Lelegian or Pelasgic or Achæan race. Nor was any difference of language to be traced. In South Britain the Welch, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants, still after the lapse of 14 centuries retain the ancient dialect of the country, a language entirely distinct from that of the Saxons. And yet the Welch are few in number, and occupy a small province in the island. But in Greece, although the antehellenic inhabitants remained in many extensive provinces as masters of the soil, and in all as a part of the population, yet (as Mitford has well remarked) in the civilised ages of Greece no trace of a dialect not Grecian was to be found in the most mountainous part of the country. All agreed in one common language. The Æolic dialect was spoken equally by the Æolian *Bœoti*, the Æolians of Elis and of Phocis, and by the Pelasgian Arcadians and the Pelasgian *Thessali*. Through the Pelasgi of Italy, as is acknowledged by Niebuhr himself, after many other enquirers, the Æolic dialect of Greek was infused into the Roman language.

Niebuhr founds his opinion upon that well-known passage of Herodotus, in which that historian distinguishes the Pelasgi from the Hellenes, and concludes their language to be peculiar and not Greek. The first proposition in Herodotus is to the following effect: "The Lacedæmonians were of  
"Doric, the Athenians of Ionic race. The Athenians the  
"Ionic race were Pelasgic, and had never migrated; the La-  
"cedæmonians the Doric race were Hellenic, and had often  
"changed their habitations." But this does not prove the two nations to be totally distinct; for it is here affirmed that the Pelasgi bore the same relation to the Hellenes as the Ionians bore to the Dorians, and the Athenians to the Lacedæmonians; which is very far from a total difference of race. The second proposition is in substance as follows: "What  
"language the Pelasgi spoke I cannot exactly say; but if  
"I may conjecture from the language spoken by the Pelasgi  
"who yet remain, the Pelasgi of Croton (who formerly in-  
"habited Thessaly) and of Placia and Scylace on the Hel-  
"lespont (who dwelt with the Athenians), and of some other  
"Pelasgic towns, their language was not Greek. If the speech  
"of these towns was the speech of the whole Pelasgic nation,



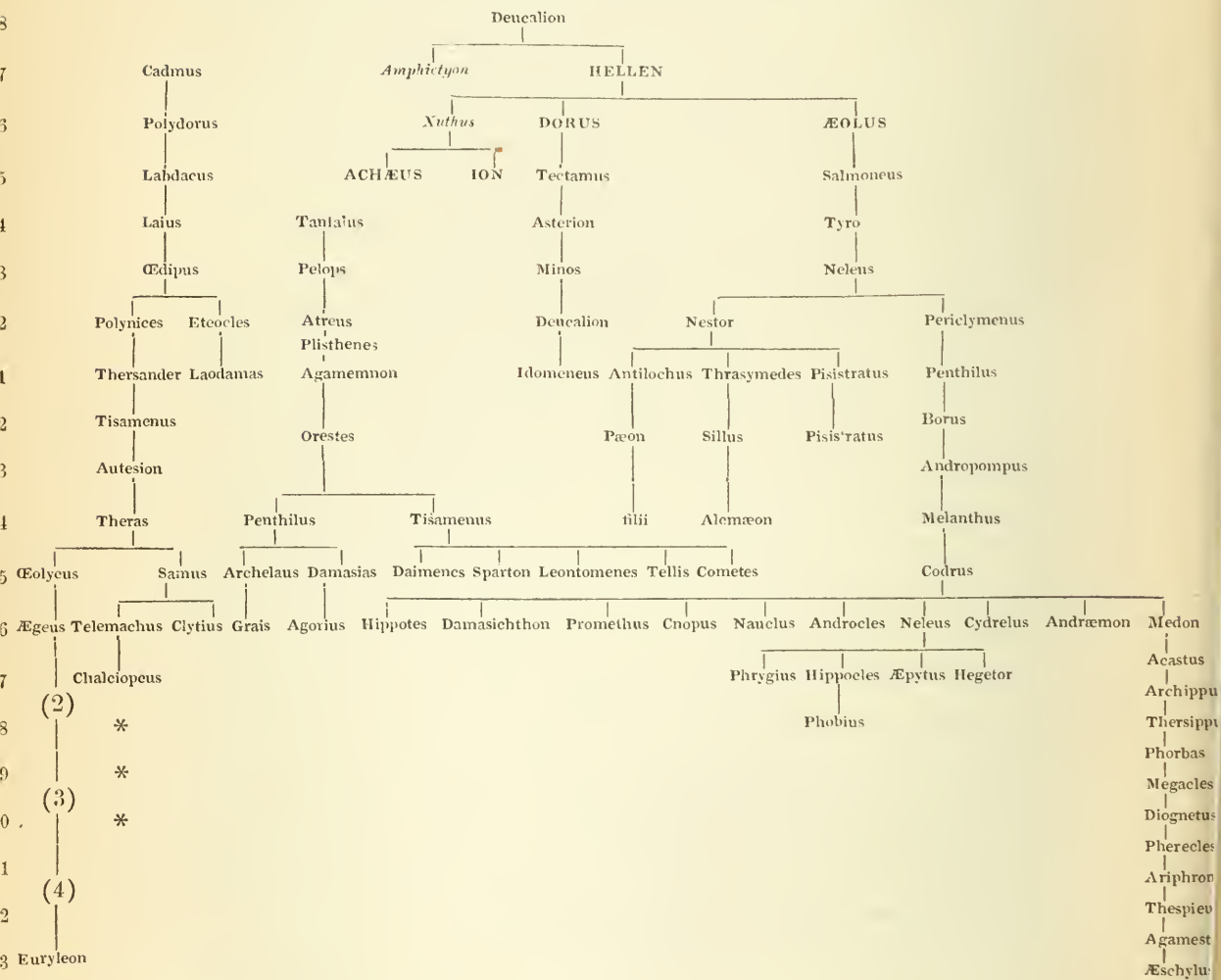
“ the Attic people, being Pelasgic, must have laid aside their  
“ original speech when they were transformed into Greeks :  
“ for the people of Croton and Placia agree with each other  
“ in language, though not with any of their respective neigh-  
“ bours ; a proof that they retained the dialect which they  
“ carried with them into those settlements.” The admission  
of Herodotus himself that the old Pelasgic language had disap-  
peared in Attica is a proof that there was no radical difference  
between the Pelasgic and the Greek : for if this province was  
always inhabited by Pelasgi (the Ionians being Pelasgic), how  
happened the inhabitants to unlearn their original speech?  
and by whom was this new language introduced? No Hellenic  
tribe entered Attica. Herodotus both here and elsewhere  
affirms that the inhabitants were the original Pelasgic popu-  
lation, which had never migrated. The change which had  
passed upon them was a change of name but not of race. If  
then it had been possible for a whole nation to have adopted  
a new language, this could not have happened here, where  
there was no impulse of any foreign tribe to cause the change  
and communicate the new language. We are justified then  
by the nature of the case in rejecting the inference which He-  
rodotus has deduced from the dialect of Croton and of Placia.  
Even Niebuhr himself acknowledges that the assertion of  
Herodotus must not be stretched too far, and rather inconsis-  
tently observes, “ That there was an essential affinity be-  
“ tween the Pelasgi and the Hellenes, notwithstanding this  
“ difference, is probable from the ease with which so many  
“ Pelasgic nations ripened into Hellens ; and from the Latin  
“ language containing an element which is half Greek, the  
“ Pelasgian origin of which seems unquestionable.” And con-  
cludes that the Greeks and Pelasgians, though “ essentially  
“ distinct,” were yet “ kindred races.” How the Pelasgians  
could have ripened into Greeks in Arcadia and Thessaly and  
Attica, if the two races had been essentially distinct, or how  
the two races could have been essentially different, and yet at  
the same time kindred races with an essential affinity, is not  
very clear.

Dionysius then with great reason affirmed the Pelasgians  
to be Greeks. The Pelasgi and Leleges were kindred tribes.  
The Æolians and Dorians were Hellenic. The Achæans and

Ionians were Pelasgic nations, but intermingled with the Hellenes. All these were branches springing from the same stock, and members of one great family. To what race of mankind this family of nations belonged has been the subject of much enquiry and great diversity of opinion. Most writers ascribe to them a foreign original. The *Pelasgi* are derived from Phœnicia by Jackson; from Egypt and Syria by Bryant. Others suppose them to be from India. Stillingfleet and Salmasius derive them from Peleg. Bishop Marsh inclines to agree with Salmasius. These opinions, however, deriving them from Phœnicia or Egypt or India or from Peleg, are mere conjectures founded upon no authority. All that we know of the *Pelasgi* is derived from the Greeks; and in their accounts, as we have already observed, the *Pelasgi* appear in Peloponnesus as an aboriginal race 18 generations before the Trojan war. Beyond that point the Grecian annals cannot reach. This being the extent of our information, why should we reject the very obvious conclusion that the *Pelasgi* were not a foreign people but the Aborigines of the country, and that they belonged to that original race by whom the isles of the Gentiles were first peopled? The Mosaic history ascribes the planting of this land to the sons of Japheth; the national traditions of the Greeks ascend to the times of Moses himself; and, if these traditions contain no positive testimonies to confirm the Scripture account (which was not to be expected), yet at least they contain nothing which in the slightest degree impeaches the Mosaic narrative. Moreover, if the Mosaic account is accurate, that Greece was planted by the family of Japheth (which no rational mind will doubt), the authority of Moses contributes to refute the theories which have been mentioned, and to confirm the fact collected from the Greek writers themselves, that the *Pelasgi* were aboriginal; for in the time of Moses the *Pelasgi* were in the country. Now it is not probable that he would have assigned the isles of the Gentiles, in which Greece is included, to the children of Japheth, if at that very time this race had already disappeared, and the country had been occupied by the children of Ham or the descendants of Peleg.

VII *From the fall of Troy to the Ionic migration.*

After the Trojan war the family of Agamemnon led the Æolic migration into Asia; the descendants of Neleus, an Æolian race, acquired the ascendancy at Athens, and conducted the Ionian colonists. In Peloponnesus many states were occupied by the Dorians under the Heraclidæ, and an ancient Pelasgic dynasty continued to reign in Arcadia. All these families are exhibited in the following tables, which deduce them from their real or supposed originals, *Deucalion* and *Danaus* and *Tantalus* and *Pelasgus*. Those who seem to be real historical persons are distinguished from the others according to the principles already explained. When the genealogy has been given before, only those parts of the descent are repeated here, which were necessary to shew the connexion.





	Inachus	19
	Phoroneus	18
	Niobe	17
	PELASGUS I    Argus	16
	Criasus	15
	Phorbas	14
	Triopas	13
	PELASGUS II    Messene    Agenor    Iasus	12
	Larissa                      Crotopas    Io	11
	CHÆUS    PHTHIUS    PELASGUS III    Sthenelas	10
	HÆMON                      PELASGUS IV    PELASGUS V	9
	THESSALUS                      Lycaon	8
	GRÆCUS                      Nyctimus    PEUCETIUS    ÆNOTRUS	7
	Callisto	
	ARCAS	
	Aphidas    Elatus    Azan	
	Alens                      Stymphehus    Clitor	
	Cepheus                      Lycurgus    Agamedes	
	Aeropus                      Ancaeus    Cercyon	
	Echemus                      Agapenor    Hippothus	
	Æpytus	
	Cynselus	
	Laïas	
	Bucolion	
	Phialas	
	Simus	
	Pompus	
	Æginetes	
	Briacas                      Polymestor	
	Æchmis	
	Aristocrates	
	Hicetas	
	Aristocrates II	
	Aletes	
	Ixion	
	Agelas	
	Prymnis	
	Bacchis	
	Agelas	
	Eudemus	
	Aristodemus	
	Telestes	
	Temenus	
	Cissus	
	Medon	
	Eurysthenes    Procles	
	Agis                      Sous	
	Echestratus    Eurypon	
	Labotas                      Prytanis	
	Doryssus                      Eunomus	
	Agesilaus                      Polydectes	
	Archelaus                      Charilaus	
	Teleclus                      Nicander	
	Alcamenes                      Theopompus	
	Polydorus                      Archidamus	
	Eurycrates                      Zeuxidamus	
	Acrisius                      Proetus	
	Danae                      Megapenthes	
	Perseus                      Anaxagoras	
	Electryo    Alcæus    Sthenelus    Alector    Hipponous	
	Alcmena = Amphitryo    Eurystheus    Iphis    Capaneus	
	Hercules	
	Antiochus    Telepolemus    Hyllus	
	Phylas                      Cleodæus	
	Hippothus                      Aristomachus	
	Aletes                      Temenus    Aristodemus    Cresphontes	
	Cissus                      Eurysthenes    Procles    Æpytus	
	Medon                      Agis                      Sous    Glaucus	
	Echestratus    Eurypon    Isthmius	
	Labotas                      Prytanis    Dotadas	
	Doryssus                      Eunomus    Sybotas	
	Agesilaus                      Polydectes    Phintas	
	Archelaus                      Charilaus    Androcles    Antiochus	
	Teleclus                      Nicander                      Euphaes	
	Alcamenes                      Theopompus	
	Polydorus                      Archidamus	
	Eurycrates                      Zeuxidamus	
		15

Orestes recovered Mycenæ in the eighth year after the death of his father. He acquired the kingdom of Lacedæmon upon the death of Menelaus, and annexed Argos to Mycenæ, and some portion of Arcadia. In the latter part of his life he withdrew to Tegea and died in Arcadia. Orestes was succeeded by his son Tisamenus; in whose reign the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponnesus. According to Apollodorus, Tisamenus fell in the action with the sons of Aristomachus, but according to other accounts he seized upon Achaia. He at first attempted an amicable coalition with the Ionians of that province; but their leaders fearing the influence of Tisamenus rejected his propositions and opposed him with an army. Tisamenus was slain, but his followers were victorious, and their adversaries the Ionian leaders retired into Attica. Tisamenus being thus slain in the conquest of Achaia, his four sons Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis, Leontomenes, reigned there, together with Damasias son of Penthilus and with Preuges and Patreus, Achæans from Lacedæmon.

Penthilus, another son of Orestes, led the Æolie migration which was destined to settle in the Troad; a settlement originally planned by Orestes himself, after whose death Penthilus proceeded from Aulis in the 60th year after the fall of Troy, at the time when the Bœotians returned from Arne into their own province. Many of these joined the followers of Penthilus. This date, determined by Thucydides and Strabo, fixes the reigns of Orestes and Tisamenus. If Orestes was dead in the 60th year after the fall of Troy, and had recovered his kingdom in the eighth year, he might reign about 52, and his son Tisamenus (who filled the space till the Dorian conquest) about 20 years. And this agrees with the account that Tisamenus was in the throne when a former expedition was led by Aristomachus; and the Chronology adopted by Velleius, who gives 70 years to Orestes and three to Tisamenus, appears to be erroneous.

About the same time that Penthilus prepared his expedition, Cleues and Malaus, also descendants of Agamemnon, collected a band of followers; but they fixed for some time in Locris, and the settlement of Penthilus and his sons passed first into Asia. The settlers from Locris afterwards founded Cyme.

In the gradual progress of the Æolian settlements a long period of years necessarily elapsed between the first migration under the direction of Orestes and the establishment of Cyme. Hence various dates are assigned. Strabo affirms that the Æolic migration preceded the Ionic four generations; which is true of Orestes; for Neleus son of Codrus was contemporary with his fourth descendants Grais and Agorius. Pherecydes in general terms observes that the Æolic migration preceded the Ionic. The settlement of Grais was computed to be 100 years after the establishment planned by Orestes. The author of the life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus reckons 130 years from the Trojan war to the occupation of Lesbos, 20 years more to the foundation of Cyme, and 18 from this event to the foundation of Smyrna. If we understand this computation to proceed from the end of the Trojan war, we shall have about 70 years from the expedition of Penthius to the settlement of Lesbos, and about 90 from Penthius to the foundation of Cyme; which is not inconsistent with the former calculations of 100 years from Orestes to Grais. Velleius is less accurate, who places the Æolic migration after the Ionic, and yet assigns the colonisation of Lesbos to the 15th year after the return of the Heraclidæ.

According to Herodotus the Æolians had twelve states on the continent after the foundation of Smyrna and eight in the islands, exclusive of some settlements around mount Ida. Smyrna was lost to the Colophonians, and in Lesbos five states only remained in the time of Herodotus—the sixth, Arisba, being conquered by the Methymnæans; so that in his time there remained eleven states on the continent (exclusive of some settlements near mount Ida) and seven in the islands.

During the reign of Orestes the Heraclidæ made no impression upon Peloponnesus. In the first attempt Hyllus was slain. A second was made in the reign of Orestes, led by Cleodæus; a third by Aristomachus son of Cleodæus, after the death of Orestes, which was repelled by Tisamenus. After the sons of Aristomachus were grown up, the Dorians made another effort, which succeeded. This fourth invasion led by Temenus Aristodemus and Cresphontes, sons of Aristomachus, which was in the 80th year after the fall of Troy, and 100 years after the attempt of Hyllus, we may place



perhaps 50 years after the death of Cleodæus, and about 20 after the death of Aristomachus. The three brothers, accompanied by Oxylus from Ætolia, the grandson of Thoas (who was present at Troy), and descended in the ninth or tenth degree from Ætolus, conquered Tisamenus. Oxylus was established in Elis; Temenus the eldest of the brothers had Argos for his share, where Cissus his eldest son succeeded him; but the people so abridged the royal authority that they left to Medon son of Cissus, and to his successors, little more than the name of king. Temenus himself was murdered by his sons, jealous of his son-in-law Deiphontes, who was also descended from Hercules. Cresphontes, who obtained Messenia, was also slain with two of his sons by a faction. Aristodemus the youngest of the three brothers died according to some accounts before the armament had entered Peloponnesus. According to the Lacedæmonians themselves, he survived till the termination of the expedition, and died in possession of Sparta.

At the time of the Dorian conquest, Melanthus, a descendant of Neleus, was king of Messenia. He retired to Athens accompanied by two other branches of the family of the Nelidæ and a large body of followers. He probably owed it to these not less than to his success in the war against the Thebans, that he was elected king by the Athenians. His son Codrus is described in many early testimonies.

In the reign of Medon son of Codrus the second great migration from Greece after the Trojan war began to occupy the coasts of Asia. These migrations of early Greece were of a different character from those which have occurred in modern Europe. The colonies which the nations of modern Europe have planted in the East and in America were not emancipated from their allegiance to the mother country. They existed for the supposed benefit of the parent state. But by the emigrations of the Greeks a new state was created, legislating for itself and conducting its own concerns in peace and war. In the Greek emigrations the new establishment was not the vassal but the equal of its parent state. The spirit of modern colonisation appears in what the South American states and the United States of the North originally were to the mother countries, Spain and Britain; the cha-

racter of Grecian colonisation is seen in what they have become since their independence. But, as among the Greeks this independence existed from the first, there was nothing to produce hostile feelings between the old and the new states. They were bound together by a community of interest and language, by common institutions and religious rites; and the relation in which they stood led to a respect which was not forcibly exacted by the one, but voluntarily yielded by the other, without interfering with its freedom. The effects of the two systems were as opposite as the principles upon which they were conducted. The South American colonies ruined Spain without producing a flourishing people in the new country. The settlements of Greece left the mother state stronger than before, and gave birth to new and flourishing communities, equal and often superior in wealth and population to the mother city.

The Ionian settlers who passed from Attica into Asia partly expelled and partly associated with themselves the Carian and Lelegian inhabitants of the country. The adventurers themselves were composed of various tribes. The leaders were Æolians from Pylos. The followers were Ionians (who composed the greater part) from Peloponnesus and Attica, Bœotians from Thebes, Minyæ from Orchomenus, Pyliaus, Locrians, Abantes, Molossians, Dryopes, Pelasgians from Arcadia. This body of settlers married Lelegian and Carian women; so that their descendants were derived from mingled Hellenic and Pelasgic together with Lelegian and Carian ancestors. The Ionian name however prevailed, and the Codridæ had the lead. The sons or grandsons of Codrus occupied eight of the Ionian cities: Miletus, Ephesus, Myus, Teos, Priene, Lebedos, Colophon, Erythræ. Of the other four, Clazomenæ was founded by the Ionians from Colophon, Phocæa by Phocians under Athenian leaders, Samos by Ionians from Epidaurus. Chios according to Ion of Chios was occupied by CEnopion from Crete. Afterwards Amphiclus from Eubœa reigned, whose great grandson Hector added Chios to the Ionian league. Besides these establishments in the twelve Ionian states, many islands of the Ægæan sea were also occupied by the Codridæ or by other Athenian leaders.

Philochorus Eratosthenes Aristarchus and Apollodorus all concur in placing the Ionic migration 140 years after the fall of Troy, or 60 years after the return of the Heraclidæ. The term of 58 years ascribed to the two Attic reigns of Melanthus and Codrus sufficiently agrees with the period of 60 years; although the chronologers are inconsistent with the historical accounts in comparing the Attic kings with the return of the Heraclidæ and with the Ionic migration, since they make the reign of Melanthus to begin before the Dorian conquest, and carry down the Ionic migration 28 or 33 years below the death of Codrus. But, as Melanthus came to Athens in consequence of the Dorian conquest, it is evident that the first year of his reign was subsequent to that epoch. And, if the two reigns were 58 years, it is also manifest that the period of 60 years was completed in the first year of Medon son of Codrus. But, although this term of 60 years is perhaps an authentic period, marking the commencement of the Ionic migration under Neleus, yet the establishment of the cities was gradually accomplished, and was not the work of one year or of one expedition. Miletus and Ephesus were probably occupied early, since Neleus was seated at Miletus, and Ephesus preceded the Æolian settlers at Smyrna. But Erythræ was founded after the other states; Clazomenæ after Colophon. Teos had two successive bands of settlers. Priene had also two bodies of colonists, and the first was led by a son of Neleus. We may conclude then that these settlements, added to those in the islands, occupied a space of many years.

#### VIII *Dates assigned to the Trojan war.*

The Ionic migration, beginning 140 years after the fall of Troy, is the lowest date to which we can descend. In proceeding upwards, our highest point is the Olympiad of Coræbus, about July B. C. 776, the first date in Grecian chronology which can be fixed upon authentic evidence. Here a void follows which it is impossible to fill. The Trojan era is a cardinal point from which we can trace history upwards to Phoroneus and Inachus, and downwards for 140 years to Medon and Neleus. But the interval between the Ionic migration and the Olympiad of Coræbus cannot be known. And yet upon the extent of that interval depends the position of the Trojan war and of all preceding epochs. If this interval



cannot be ascertained, the dates of all preceding events, from Phoroneus to the Ionian colonies, hang in uncertainty.

The date of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus for the fall of Troy makes that interval 268 years. But that date for the fall of Troy was founded upon conjecture, and was derived from Eratosthenes by later chronologers. Some of those who preceded him brought the Trojan era to a lower point, but many carried it to a higher.

Eratosthenes and Apollodorus placed the fall of Troy at B. C. 1183. This date was adopted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by Diodorus, Tatian, Clemens, and Eusebius, and by the Roman writers generally, Cato, Nepos, Lutatius, Solinus. But this date, by being thus frequently repeated, acquired no new kind of authority as evidence. When the same fact comes reported by several authors, all transcribing from one common source, these authors are not to be taken as so many independent authorities for the matter stated in common, but are all reducible to that one original of which they are the copies. Diodorus in the date of the fall of Troy professes merely to follow Apollodorus; and the date of Apollodorus is the same, and founded on the same principles, as the date of Eratosthenes. This Trojan era then B. C. 1183 is nothing more than a conjectural date, originally assumed by Eratosthenes, and derived from him to succeeding chronologers.

The calculations of Eratosthenes place the fall of Troy at B. C. 1183 and the return of the Heraclidæ at B. C. 1104. But lower dates were assigned by Isocrates, who, expressing the period in round numbers and general terms, places the Return at B. C. 1066, or 1040, or 1056. Ephorus according to the text of Diodorus dates the Return at B. C. 1089. according to our copies of Clemens, at B. C. 1069<sup>f</sup>. If we suppose Ephorus and Isocrates to have reckoned 80 years for the interval between the Trojan era and the Return, an allowable supposition, we have these dates for the Trojan era: B. C. 1146, 1120, 1136, 1169, 1149. Democritus fixed

<sup>f</sup> It is not likely that these variations were from Ephorus himself. The *orator* speaks in round numbers, and has 700 years at three different dates. The *historian* expresses the fractions on each occasion; a proof that he intended to give the exact epoch of the Return as he understood it. He would not then

call that interval "nearly 750" years in B. C. 340 which he called 735 in B. C. 335. On which account we must refer this difference of 20 years to the error of a transcriber; and it may be corrected in the manner proposed in F. Hellen. Vol. 2 p. vii.

the Trojan war at about 1150. The mean of all these numbers would be 1145, almost 40 years below the date of Eratosthenes. But other authors, who preceded him, computed the time more largely. The date of Herodotus is about B. C. 1263, of the Parian Marble B. C. 1209. Duris of Samos adopted the extravagant date of B. C. 1335. The date which Eratosthenes obtained, 407 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, doubtless obtained by computing the length of generations and of reigns, was in effect a middle point between the longer and shorter computations of preceding writers.

The date of Phanias of Eresus (a disciple of Aristotle) was 55 years below the date of Eratosthenes, of Sosibius 11 years. Callimachus reckoned only 52 years between Iphitus and *Coræbus* where Eratosthenes reckoned 108; a difference of 56 years. Whence we may reasonably infer that Callimachus placed the Return and consequently the Trojan era 56 years below the epochs of Eratosthenes. And the date of Eratosthenes for the Return seems to assign too large a space to the Spartan Messenian and Arcadian kings. At Sparta the interval of Eratosthenes down to B. C. 560 will give 36 years each to the reigns of the Agidæ, and 38 years each to the Proclidæ. In Messenia Cresphontes, who came with the Dorians, fell early, Androcles fell by a faction in B. C. 744. And yet in this period of 360 years are only eight generations, or 45 years to each generation. In Arcadia Cypselus had eight successors in 360 years. Cypselus himself was already in the throne before the Return; but even including him in the account we have  $40 \times 9 = 360$ , or 40 years each for the nine Arcadian reigns. In the same space of time there were 10 generations among the Heraclidæ of Corinth. Hippotes lived at the Return. Telestes, who was slain in B. C. 747, was the 10th (both inclusive) from Hippotes. Ten generations in 357 years, or  $35\frac{1}{2}$  years to each generation. But in the line of Theras the generations are far beyond their ordinary length. In the fourth year of the first Messenian war the Lacedæmonians are commanded by Euryleon the fifth descendant of *Ægeus*, the grandson of Theras. From Theras therefore inclusive (the uncle of Eurysthenes and Procles) to this period are seven generations. Seven generations in 360 years, or 51 years to each.

The epoch however of Eratosthenes, as we have seen, was at a lower point than the dates of many writers. The Parian Marble placed the fall of Troy 26 years, Herodotus about 80 years, Duris 150, above the date of Eratosthenes. In the life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus the date assigned is B. C. 1270, 87 years above the epoch of Eratosthenes. The period ascribed by Thucydides to the Melians carries upward the capture of Troy beyond the received epoch. Thucydides records that Melos had been planted by the Lacedæmonians 700 years before B. C. 416, or in 1116. But this island was occupied in the third generation after the return of the Heraclidæ, in the reign of Agis son of Eurysthenes; which will place this colony about 70 years after the Return and 150 after the fall of Troy. And  $150 + 1116 = 1266$  for the Trojan era agrees with the date of Herodotus. A period of 1000 years from the capture of Troy was supposed by the Locrians of Opus to have terminated after the Phocian war, according to the account of Timæus, giving B. C. 1346, nearly coinciding with the date of Duris. Timæus himself computed the time more largely than Eratosthenes, although his precise date for the Trojan era cannot now be ascertained.

The chronology of Eratosthenes, founded on a careful comparison of circumstances, and approved by those to whom the same stores of information were open, is entitled to our respect. But we must remember that a conjectural date can never rise to the authority of evidence; that what is accepted as a substitute for testimony is not an equivalent. Witnesses alone can prove a date; and, when these are wanting, the knowledge of it is beyond our reach. If in the absence of a better light we seek for what is probable, we are not to forget the distinction between conjecture and proof; between what is probable and what is certain. The computation then of Eratosthenes for the war of Troy is open to enquiry, and if we find it adverse to the opinions of many preceding writers, who fixed a lower date, and adverse to the acknowledged length of generations in the most authentic dynasties, we are allowed to follow other guides, who give us a lower epoch. The following Table offers a summary view of the leading periods from Phoroneus to the Olympiad of Corcebus, and



exhibits a double series of dates; the one proceeding from the date of Eratosthenes, the other from a date founded on the reduced calculations of Phantias and Callimachus, which strike out 56 years from the amount of Eratosthenes. Phantias omitted 55 years between the Return and the registered Olympiads (for so we may understand the account); Callimachus, 56 years between the Olympiad of Iphitus and the Olympiad in which Corœbus won. The first column of this Table exhibits the *current* years before and after the fall of Troy; in the second column of dates the *complete* intervals are expressed. But as the years of the era commence in *Thargelion*, or late in the spring, they are not conumerary with the Julian years. Thus, according to Eratosthenes, the 10th year before the era commenced in *Thargelion* B. C. 1192, and in proceeding upwards we find it completed in *Thargelion* 1193; and the Trojan war might begin (in the 10th year current) early in spring of 1192. Again, the 17th year before the era being completed in *Thargelion* B. C. 1200, the accession of Agamemnon in the 18th year current might occur early in spring of 1200; but if the death of Hyllus is placed almost 20 years before the era, it is to be referred to the middle of B. C. 1203, since, in ascending upwards, the 20th year is completed in *Thargelion* of that year. On the dates after the fall of Troy we may remark, that if the first year from the era was completed in *Thargelion* B. C. 1182, the 299th was completed in *Thargelion* 884, and the Olympiad of Iphitus, about July following, was in the 300th year; the 407th year ended in *Thargelion* B. C. 776, and the games of Corœbus, in July following, were in the 408th. From the fall of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ Eratosthenes reckoned the full term of 80 years; which terminate at *Thargelion* 1103. This interval, however, is here computed after Thucydides to be the 80th year current, or 79 years complete, and the Return is accordingly placed at B. C. 1104. This difference of a year affects the following epochs; for if the year of the Return is placed at *Thargelion* B. C. 1104, the year of the Ionic migration commences at *Thargelion* 1044; and the death of Codrus, 59 years after the Return, falls upon 1045. The 80 years complete of Eratosthenes will bring each of these epochs one

year lower; the complete period to the Ionian colonies being  $79 + 60 = 139$  in this Table, but  $80 + 60 = 140$  in Eratosthenes.

		y.	B. C. Erat.	B. C. Callim.
(570) <sup>g</sup>	<i>Phoroneus</i> .....	87	(1753)	(1697)
(283)	<i>Danaus</i> .....	33	(1466)	(1410)
	<i>Pelagus V</i> .....			
(250)	<i>Deucalion</i> .....	50	(1433)	(1377)
(200)	<i>Erechtheus</i> .....	50	(1383)	(1327)
	<i>Dardanus</i> .....			
(150)	<i>Azan Aphidas Elatus</i> .....	20	(1333)	(1277)
130	<i>Cadmus</i> .....	30	1313	1257
(100)	<i>Pelops</i> .....	22	(1283)	(1227)
78	Birth of <i>Hercules</i> .....	36	1261	1205
(42)	Argonauts .....	12	(1225)	(1169)
30	First Theban war .....	4	1213	1157
26	Death of <i>Hercules</i> .....	2	1209	1153
24	Death of <i>Eurystheus</i> .....	4	1207	1151
20	Death of <i>Hyllus</i> .....	2y 9 <sup>m</sup>	1203	1147
18	Accession of <i>Agamemnon</i> .....	2	1200	1144
16	Second Theban war .....	6	1198	1142
10	Trojan expedition (9y 1 <sup>m</sup> ) .....	9	1192	1136
}		}		
	Troy taken .....	7	1183	1127
8	<i>Orestes</i> reigns at Argos in the 8th year ..	52	1176	1120
60	<i>The Thessali</i> occupy Thessaly .....	20	1124	1068
	<i>The Bæoti</i> return to Bæotia in the 60th year ..			
	<i>Æolic</i> migration under <i>Penthilus</i> .....			
80	Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i> in the 80th year ..	29	1104	1048
109	<i>Aletes</i> reigns at Corinth .....	1	1075	1019
110	Migration of <i>Theras</i> .....	21	1074	1018
131	Lesbos occupied 130 years after the era ..	8	1053	997
139	Death of <i>Codrus</i> .....	1	1045	989
140	Ionic migration 60 years after the Return ..	11	1044	988
151	Cyme founded 150 years after the era ..	18	1033	977
169	Smyrna, 168 years after the era .....	131	1015	959
		299		
300	Olympiad of <i>Iphitus</i> .....	108	} 884	828
408		52		
352	Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i> .....	—	776	776

### IX *Iphitus—Lycurgus—Homerus.*

1 The time of *IPHITUS* is connected with the time of *LYCURGUS*. They are placed together by general consent. Eratosthenes places *Iphitus* at the regency of *Lycurgus*; that is, at the birth of *Charilaus*; and the date he assigns is 108 years before the Olympiad in which *Coræbus* was victor. Callimachus places *Iphitus* 56 years below the date of Eratosthenes. How he adjusted the preceding period we are not

<sup>g</sup> These dates, distinguished from founded upon the probable length of the rest, are proposed as conjectures, generations.

informed; but it does not follow that, because Iphitus was brought down to B. C. 828, the regency of Lycurgus must also be brought down to the same epoch.

Eratosthenes placed Lycurgus at 299 years after the fall of Troy and 108 before the Olympiad of Corcebus; that is, at B. C. 884. Upon his chronology were founded the dates of many succeeding writers. Thucydides however had given a lower date; for he relates that in B. C. 404 the Spartan polity had subsisted something more than 400 years. If we assume B. C. 404 + 412 = 816 for the period designed by Thucydides, or B. C. 822 with Scaliger (who assumes 417 years to adapt Thucydides to a date in Eratosthenes), there will be a difference of 62 or 68 years between Thucydides and Eratosthenes. The apparent difference however is greater than the real, and the actual difference between them might not be more than 30 years. For Eratosthenes by no means designed to fix the legislation of Lycurgus at B. C. 884, for, as we know from Clemens, he speaks of the regency. But the regency commenced at the birth of Charilaus; and Sosibius of Laconia nearly agrees in that date for the birth of Charilaus. He gives these numbers:

	y.	B. C.
<i>Charilaus</i> .....	64 .....	873
<i>Nicander</i> .....	39 .....	809
<i>Theopompus</i> .....	— .....	770

Sosibius therefore fixes the birth and reign of Charilaus, and consequently the regency of Lycurgus, 11 years below the date which Eratosthenes assigns to the regency. But between the regency, which commenced with the birth of Charilaus, and the period marked by Thucydides, when the laws were established and the constitution settled, many years were interposed. Aristotle relates that Lycurgus after the birth of Charilaus withdrew from Sparta and passed a long period of time in Crete. From Ephorus we learn that when Lycurgus returned to Sparta Charilaus was grown up and administered the government. Then Lycurgus proposed his laws. The public life of Lycurgus might occupy at least 30 years. It is made 42 years by authorities in Suidas; and it is recorded that Lycurgus lived 85 years. We may assume 35 years as a probable amount for his public life. But it is



not determined by any testimonies at what point of this period he concurred with Iphitus in founding or restoring the Olympic games. If then we fix the legislation of Lycurgus in conformity with Thucydides at B. C. 817 (with which date some notices in Cyril of Jerusalem and in Hieronymus agree), and the regency 35 years before at B. C. 852, we obtain the following dates, deduced from the fall of Troy :

	y.	B. C.
80 Return of the Heraclidæ ..	60	1048
140 Ionic migration . . . . .	136	988
276 Regency of Lycurgus . . . .	24	852
300 Olympiad of Iphitus . . . . .	11	828
311 Legislation of Lycurgus ..	41	817
352 Olympiad of Corœbus . . . .	—	776

This arrangement will suppose Lycurgus to have concurred in the Olympic festival about the 24th year of the life and reign of Charilaus, after his return to Sparta ; and will leave 196 years for the Spartan reigns between the return of the Heraclidæ and the birth of Charilaus.

Two errors had much perplexed the chronology of Lycurgus. The Olympiad of Iphitus was sometimes confounded with the Olympiad of Corœbus, and Lycurgus was referred to a single point of time ; and his regency and legislation were supposed to be coincident. An instance of the first error occurs in Plutarch, and in Phlegon who relates that in the first five Olympiads no crown was given ; that in the sixth king Iphitus consulted the oracle and received a response concerning the giving of an olive crown ; and that in the seventh Olympiad in which Daicles of Messenia was victor in the foot-race a crown was first given. This was the 7th *registered* Olympiad ; and the 6th, in which *Iphitus* was king, was in B. C. 756, 20 years after Corœbus won ; although Phlegon had himself placed Iphitus 108 years before Corœbus. Velleius and Solinus refer Iphitus to the time at which Corœbus won. Cicero observes, *Nam centum et octo annis postquam Lycurgus leges scribere instituit prima posita est Olympias : quam quidam nominis errore ab eodem Lycurgo constitutam putant.* This passage is an example of both the errors. He gives the date of Eratosthenes, but he has neglected to distinguish the regency from the legislation, and the Olympiad of Iphitus from the Olympiad of

Corœbus. Hence he admits two Lyncurgi, the legislator, whom he calls *superiorem Lyncurgum*, and a second, who instituted the Olympic games. Pausanias and Strabo leave the interval undefined between Iphitus and Corœbus. Many of the difficulties in these passages will be removed by the very probable opinion of Clavier, that there were more than one of the name of Iphitus. Clavier supposes three of the name. I should rather conclude that there were only two; Iphitus son of Hæmon or of Praxonides, contemporary with Lyncurgus, who founded the festival in B. C. 828, and Iphitus, called son of Iphitus in the ancient Elean inscriptions, who was king in B. C. 756, and whom Phlegon does not distinguish from the former. In this case, the two Iphiti, the father and son, might occupy together about 76 years: the elder Iphitus was king in B. C. 828, the younger Iphitus in the time of Corœbus and of Daicles B. C. 776—752.

The second error we have observed in Cicero. Justin also places the legislation in the time of the regency, and we may suspect that the account of Pausanias, who places the legislation in the reign of Agesilaus, is founded on a similar supposition. For Charilaus reigned with Archelaus son of Agesilaus. The regency, then, rather than the legislation, might fall within the reign of Agesilaus, in whose time Charilaus was born.

Lyncurgus is the uncle of Charilaus in Aristotle, and in Ephorus Dieuchidas and most other writers. Simonides, though differing in the order of the kings, yet also made him the uncle of Charilaus. The variation in Dionysius may be ascribed to error; that in Herodotus to corruption in the text.

Apollodorus, as we learn from a passage of Porphyry preserved in the Armenian Eusebius, concurred with Eratosthenes in referring *Lyncurgus* to B. C. 884, 108 years before the Olympiad of *Corœbus*.

2 Homer is recorded by Ephorus Apollodorus and many writers to have reached the time of Lyncurgus; but he will not contribute to ascertain the time of Lyncurgus, because the time of Homer himself is uncertain. If however the tradition that they were contemporary is true, the earliest account of the age of Homer, that of Herodotus, who places him 400

years before his own time, agrees precisely with the dates here assigned to Lycurgus. For 400 years before the *acme* of Herodotus will place the *acme* of Homer at B. C. 850 or 854. Apollodorus placed Homer 100 years after the Ionic migration. This date, which we may understand of the birth of Homer, Apollodorus naturally adapted to his own epochs, B. C. 1183 for the fall of Troy, and 1043 for the migration; which would place the birth of Homer by this reckoning at 943. But when the date of the Ionic migration is brought down to its more probable period B. C. 988, and adapted to that reduced epoch which we have obtained from Callimachus, this date of Apollodorus for the birth of Homer will also precisely agree with the time of Homer as fixed by Herodotus. For  $988 - 100 =$  B. C. 888 for the birth of Homer, just 404 years before the birth of Herodotus; and his *acme*, taken at 34 years of age, would coincide in this case also with the *acme* of Lycurgus at 854. If the dates of Eratosthenes or of Aristotle for Homer shall be preferred, who carry the poet upwards nearer to the Trojan times, Homer will be placed by these computations beyond the reach of the earliest date to which Lycurgus is assigned.

The various dates to which Homer is ascribed may be arranged in the following manner, each being computed downwards from the fall of Troy:

Philostratus .....	24
Crates .....	78
Eratosthenes .....	100
Aristoteles .....	} 140
Aristarchus .....	
Castor .....	
Cassius .....	} 160
Philostratus .....	
Cyrillus .....	165
Auctor vitæ Homeri	168
Philochorus .....	180
Euthymenes .....	} 200
Archemachus .....	
Apollodorus .....	240
Velleius Paterculus ...	266
Nepos .....	273



Porphyrus .....	275
Marmor Parium .....	302
Sosibius .....	305
Herodotus .....	{ 409
	{ 329
	{ 273
Theopompus .....	500

The apparent varieties in these dates are greater than the real. The dates of Velleius, Nepos, Porphyry, may be resolved into the date of Apollodorus, and the date of Apollodorus may be adjusted to that of Herodotus. Some of the other variations might be brought to a nearer agreement with each other, if we knew in all the cases whether the authors intended to express the birth or the *acme* of Homer. Thus the dates of Cassius, Philostratus, Cyril, the author of the life of Homer, and Philochorus, if interpreted of the *acme*, may be resolved into the date of Aristotle. But the inaccurate language of Tatian Clemens and Eusebius leaves this point obscure.

From the testimonies to the time of Homer we collect three principal opinions concerning his age. The first conjecture supposes him to flourish from 78 to 100 years after the fall of Troy; the second opinion, adopted by Aristotle, places his birth at the time of the Ionic migration, and by consequence his flourishing period would extend from 170 to 200 years and upwards after the fall of Troy. The third conjecture, that of Apollodorus, makes him 100 years later; and according to this opinion he is born 240 years, and his *acme* will be placed from 270 to 300 years after the Trojan era. This third opinion coincides with Herodotus, who places Homer and Hesiod together 400 years before his own time. In assigning the age of Homer we have only the choice of conjectures offered to us, and this under the farther disadvantage that the reasons upon which those conjectures were founded are not known. I prefer however that date for Homer which is sanctioned by Aristotle, placing his birth at the time of the Ionian colonies.

NOTE A.—*Mr. Grote examined.*

Mr. Grote in his elaborate and valuable History of Greece

takes a different view of the early times from that which is presented in this work. He pronounces of the early times of Greece, and of the Trojan war itself, that they were wholly fabulous; and as a necessary consequence rejects the chronology of the early times. He considers this subject, the application of chronology to Grecian legends, in an express dissertation, which he has inserted in p. 47—78 of his second volume. I propose to offer some remarks upon his objections. I abridge his language, but give his arguments in his own words.

Mr. Grote argues in this manner p. 53—55 “ Mr. Clinton speaks of authentic dynasties prior to the 1st Olympiad. “ But if there be any such, I see no good reason for the “ marked distinction between chronology before and chronology after the Olympiad of Corœbus, or for suspending his “ upward reckoning from the last mentioned epoch and beginning a downward reckoning from the higher epoch of the “ first patriarchs from whom such dynasty emanates.—Authentic dynasties from the Olympiads up to an epoch above “ the Trojan war would enable us to obtain chronological “ proofs for the latter date instead of being reduced to conjecture.—Eratosthenes gives all his statements from an “ older point to a newer. But here is no difference between “ upward and downward reckoning. He first found or made “ some upward reckoning to the Trojan capture, then assumes “ the capture as an era, and gives intervals downwards;— “ amongst others he assigns clearly that interval which Mr. “ Clinton pronounces to be undiscoverable; the space between “ the Ionic migration and the first Olympiad.—Are those “ genealogies authentic and trustworthy or are they not? “ Clinton appears to feel that they are not so, when he admits “ the essential difference in the character of the evidence, and “ the necessity of altering the method of computation before “ and after the Olympiad of Corœbus.”

To this I answer—The Olympiad of Corœbus in B. C. 776, which Mr. Grote himself recognises p. 74 and elsewhere as the first recorded Olympiad, is the first date which can be assigned. We ascend to it from the known position of the Olympiads in the times of certain history, where we compare them with other known dates. But authentic dynasties or

generations from that Olympiad upwards would not enable us to obtain proof of the actual year of the fall of Troy or of any other event, because, although the persons in a series of reigns or generations may be known, the years of each reign or of each generation are not known, and we can only approach the true amount of time by an average. The “essential difference” is founded on the nature of the computation, and not on the character of the evidence. Ten generations may express about 330 years; ten reigns about 243<sup>a</sup>. But this would not determine the amount of any particular dynasty with precision, still less the date of any individual within it. If this average is applied to the 33 reigns in England from the Conqueror to A.D. 1837, we obtain 803 years, which, reckoned upwards, place the Conqueror at A.D. 1034, more than 30 years too high. If we apply the average to any particular reigns, how great will be the variation from the actual time! Four reigns at  $24\frac{1}{3}$  to each give 97 years; but in that series four reigns beginning with Henry III contain 170 years, four other reigns beginning with James II only 42. Such would be the uncertainty even when the successions are authentic and accurate. The Trojan era is taken not as a fixed point in Time, but as a fixed point in the Homeric Poems, from whence we proceed a certain number of generations upwards, and again a certain number of generations downwards.

Mr. Grote observes p. 56 “An inscription, being nothing “but a piece of writing on marble, carries its evidentiary “value under the same conditions as a published writing on “paper.”

An inscription is something more than this. A writing on paper, being perishable, is preserved and multiplied by transcription. But through error in the transcribers the original text is liable to corruption. An inscription is the original itself, and may be compared to the autograph of the author.

He observes p. 56–58 “The quoit of Iphitus, the registers “at Sparta &c. are all of a date completely uncertified.— “Mr. C. tells us that *perhaps* these lists began to be written “as early as the Dorian conquest;—that the register at “Argos *might* be more ancient &c.—that the inscriptions in

<sup>a</sup> See F. H. I p. 340 m.



“ Herodotus may *perhaps* be 400 years earlier than Herodotus. But this bare possibility is not a ground for inference. Unless Mr. C. can make out that there really existed inscriptions in Greece of a date anterior to B.C. 776, he can derive no benefit from these inscriptions.”

I have spoken doubtfully because I knew that certainty could not be obtained. There is no proof and there can be none of the exact dates of these registers or inscriptions. But I thought it probable, and I think so still, that some might be written at an epoch earlier than the Olympiad of Co-ræbus.

Mr. Grote p. 56 “ When Mr. Clinton quotes Müller as admitting the registers of Sparta Corinth and Elis, it is right to add that the latter does not profess to guarantee the authenticity of these documents.” p. 58. 59 “ Mr. Clinton says p. 330 ‘ Mr. Müller is of opinion that an authentic account of the years of each Lacedæmonian reign had been preserved’ &c. But this is a *mistake*: for Müller *expressly disavows* any belief in the authenticity of the lists. He says “ ‘ I do not contend that the chronological accounts in the Spartan lists form an *authentic document*’ ” &c.

Mr. Grote from inadvertence has altogether misrepresented this point. My remark was founded upon the *first* edition of Müller’s Dorians, the only one then extant; the passage which Mr. Grote has quoted was inserted by Müller in the *second*. The facts are these. In my Chronology of the Early Times I remarked p. 330 that Mr. Müller is of opinion that an authentic account of the years of the Lacedæmonian kings had been preserved. I contended p. 332 that no such authentic register existed, but that the years were obtained by conjecture; and I quoted a just remark of Mr. Lewis to confirm my opinion. Now Mr. Müller after perusing my work remodelled in the second edition of the translation of his Dorians some passages with reference to my volume, as for example at Vol. 1 p. 147 (in the first edition p. 152) he inserts a paragraph founded upon my view of *Eunomus* king of Sparta, candidly referring in his note to F. H. I p. 144. Upon the remarks on the years of the Spartan kings Müller has this notice in Vol. 2 p. 443 of his second edition: “ For a defence of the opinion that the Spartan *ἀναγραφὰι* contained

chronological statements, and for an explanation of their character in reference to the remarks of Mr. Lewis Phil. Mus. Vol. 2 p. 46 and Mr. Clinton F. H. Vol. 1 p. 332, see the Gottingen Gel. Anz. 1837 p. 593." And in Vol. 1 p. 146 (151 of the old edition) Müller omits a note concerning *Dieuchidas* and substitutes the note to which Mr. Grote refers, namely, "I do not contend that the chronological statements in the Spartan lists form an authentic document more than those in the catalogues of the priestesses of *Here* and in the list of Halicarnassian priests" &c. This note was produced by my remark and was inserted to explain his own meaning more fully. I am therefore charged by Mr. Grote with inaccuracy, because in observations published in 1834 I have not adverted to what Müller published five years afterwards. And yet Mr. Grote might have been guided to the truth by consulting the titlepages of the two works<sup>b</sup> or by referring to the preface of the translators<sup>c</sup>, or by reading the page which was open before him; for after he had transcribed that note from p. 146 of Muller, he had before his eyes p. 147 in which my volume is quoted.

Upon the genealogical Tables Mr. Grote p. 62 observes as follows: "The names singled out as fictitious are distinguished by no common character and no mark from those which are left as real. Why is *Itonus I* printed as a fiction, while *Itonus II* is preserved as real? (p. 40.) If we discard *Hellen*, *Dorus*, *Æolus*, *Ion* &c. as being expressions of personified races, why are we to retain *Cadmus*?" &c.—*Hyllus* *Pamphylus* and *Dymas* are the eponyms of the Dorian tribes, just as *Hoples* &c.—of the Attic." p. 64 "In the estimate of the ancient chronologers three succeeding persons of the same lineage counted for a century; and this may pass in a rough way so long as you are satisfied that they are all real persons; but, if in the succession of persons A B C you strike out B, as a fiction, the continuity of *data* disappears." p. 74 "He inserts the names of mythical fathers as having begotten real historical sons."

<sup>b</sup> Fasti Hellenici Vol. I, 1834. The Doric Race by C. O. Muller—second edition, 1839.

<sup>c</sup> Advertisement to the second edition. "The first edition of this transla-

tion has been revised by the author, and he has supplied several corrections and additions which have been inserted in their proper places."

The names in the genealogies are either all true or all false; or some are true and some false. Mr. Grote contends that all are false; I hold that some are true and some false; and of the last that some are false with a mixture of truth, and some wholly fictitious. All the names recorded in mythology must come under one of these descriptions, although to determine to which of these classes each name belongs is not within the reach of our knowledge.

Mr. Grote has not accurately explained my meaning in those Tables. In the heroes of the Trojan period I have never intercepted a succession A B C by striking out the intermediate link B. Those who refer to the Tables at p.40.100 (p.34.35 p.54.55 of this volume) will perceive that the heroes of the Trojan era ascend upwards *three* or *four* or *five*, sometimes, but more rarely, *six* generations to the point at which they begin from some common ancestor; the *Æolidæ*, as Nestor, to Æolus; the Dorians, as Idomeneus, to Dorus; the Heraclidæ through Hercules to Acrisius; the Pelasgians of Arcadia to Arcas. Prothous ascends to Magnes, Meges to Eleus. These successions are not intercepted. They begin somewhere. I conceive them to begin with the person who first issues from the name which represents the tribe or clan. To *Æolus Dorus Hellen* no acts are ascribed to mark them as individuals. They are not named by Homer. The *second Itonus* is retained because he is in the third generation before the Trojan war, and is the grandfather of the Homeric hero Peneleus. The *first Itonus* is expunged because he has been inserted as the father of Bœotus, in whom as expressing the tribe the line begins. In the Table of the five Pelasgi at p.18 (p.21 of this volume) the names which are marked as expressing a nation are so marked for many reasons—the names themselves—the remoteness of the time—the want of individual acts in some. I recognise *Phoroneus* as a Pelasgic king of remote antiquity on account of the evidence to his name and existence. With that single exception the successions A B C are not interrupted in that Table by striking out B; for some of the names which express nations have no parent and others have no descendants. The names in that Table present a view of the march of armies, the movements of colonies, the rise of dynasties. The nations represented by



those names are all branches of the great Pelasgic family which then occupied Greece.

Hyllus is retained as a real person because he is near the Trojan times, because individual acts are ascribed to him, because his father Hercules is described as a real person by Homer, because his son Cleodæus and his grandson Aristomachus bring him within three generations of the Return of the Heraclidæ. I have retained Cadmus and Danaus because the authorities in favour of a Phœnician and Egyptian settlement (as it appears to me) are weighty, although not amounting to proof. I have retained Cecrops as an Attic king (though whether Egyptian or indigenous we cannot determine) on account of the many and ancient traditions in which he is recognised.

Mr. Grote p. 64 “ Mr. Clinton is inconsistent with himself “ in this, that he continues his chronological computations “ upon the assumed reality of all the persons constituting the “ antehistorical generations—when it is admitted that eponymous persons are to be cancelled as fictions, seeing that “ *Hyllus* comes in the most distinct manner under that category.” p. 72 “ Mr. Clinton shrinks from his own rule in “ treating Cadmus and Danaus as real persons; since they “ are as much eponyms of tribes or races as Dorus and “ Hellen.”

I am not inconsistent with myself in asserting the reality of *Hyllus* or *Cadmus*, for I have never admitted any universal rule concerning eponymous persons. On the contrary, although it is acknowledged that for the ages of remote antiquity—for the Pelasgic period; for the times anterior to the heroic age—the Greeks invented many eponymous persons, yet a practice which was frequent in after-times among the Greeks must also have happened in the early period. The name of a chief was sometimes conferred upon the city which he founded or the tribe of which he was the head; and this especially within the times embraced by the Homeric genealogies.

It is remarked at p. 63 “ Mr. Clinton has departed from “ the point of view of Hellanicus and Herodotus and the “ ancient historians. The names which he has been the most “ forward to sacrifice are exactly those to which they were “ most attached and which it would have been most painful

“to their faith to part with—the eponymous heroes.” p. 66  
 “The distinction which he draws between real and fictitious  
 “persons would have appeared *unreasonable*, not to say of-  
 “fensive, to Herodotus or Eratosthenes.”

If Herodotus and Eratosthenes would have regarded with pain my rejection of those venerated names, what would have been their feelings at the theory of Mr. Grote, who rejects all? who pronounces p. 73 that “all are fabulous, so far as  
 “concerns gods and heroes? some fabulous throughout, none  
 “ascertainedly true?”—He will perhaps admit my reply in behalf of both of us, that we entered upon those investigations with an honest purpose of discovering the truth; and, when we believed that we had discovered the truth, of freely declaring it, without pausing to enquire how far our decision might have offended Herodotus or Eratosthenes.

p. 67. 68 “Mr. Clinton says ‘We may acknowledge as real  
 “persons all those whom there is no reason for rejecting.’—  
 “If this position be a true one, the greater part of the His-  
 “tory of England from Brute the Trojan down to Julius  
 “Cæsar ought at once to be admitted as valid and worthy of  
 “credence.”

This conclusion does not follow from the premises. There *are* reasons for rejecting *Brute the Trojan*. My position is that upon which Mr. Grote himself has acted. He has reasons, or believes he has, for rejecting all those whom he has rejected.

Against the evidence of the early poets Mr. Grote argues in this manner p. 69: “Mr. Clinton has forgotten that we  
 “know nothing of the state of the country except what these  
 “very poets tell us, and that fictitious persons may be just as  
 “consonant to the state of the country as real persons.”  
 p. 70 “Mr. C. overlooks the existence of *plausible fiction*.  
 “Fiction must be plausible and specious, and in that case  
 “there is nothing but the want of an attesting certificate to  
 “distinguish it from truth. The temptation of putting forth  
 “an interesting tale is quite a sufficient stimulus to the  
 “invention of the poet; and the plausibility of the tale is  
 “a sufficient passport to the belief of the hearers.” And yet he tells us p. 70 that “the fictitious stories must harmonise  
 “perfectly well with the well-attested course of facts.” and

p. 79 that "the poets are valuable as unconscious expositors of their own contemporary society." and that "the imagination even of highly gifted men was enslaved by the circumstances around them, insomuch that the characters which they conceived and the scenes which they described would for that reason bear a strong general resemblance to the realities of their own time and locality."

If these last propositions are true, as they undoubtedly are, we are justified in appealing to the poets as witnesses of the state of the country; and if the plausible tale must "harmonise with well attested facts," I suppose that it must have a basis of truth. Which fiction would be more "plausible and interesting?" that in which all was the mere creation of the poet's fancy, fictitious names of imaginary persons foreign to the public ear, and fictitious wars of which the people had never heard, or that fiction which exhibits to the tribe or clan their own warriors; in which the song is founded upon real life, embellishes the acts of real known heroes, of men recognised and honoured by the auditors, and celebrates real wars in which those heroes were engaged? I adopt the latter view as more rational, more credible, more consistent with the natural impulses of man in the early state of society, and I accept the war of Troy as a real event and the Homeric heroes as real persons.

Mr. Grote enquires p. 71 "What are we to say to the divine legends?" and contends p. 73 that "the gods and heroes are essentially fictitious."

It is not just to conclude that because the Homeric gods were fictitious the heroes were fictitious also. The gods, though imaginary beings, were objects of religious belief, and were supposed to have a present influence over the destinies of man; therefore the song which told of their acts had an interest founded upon awe and terror in the mind of the hearer who believed himself to be every moment subjected to their power. But hero-worship did not begin till after the Homeric times<sup>a</sup>, and if the heroes who warred at Thebes and Troy had been fictitious men carrying on fabricated wars, they would have had no such influence as the gods had over the imaginations of the people, and could inspire neither hope

<sup>a</sup> See Mitford, Vol. I p. 101 Thirlwall, Vol. I p. 207.



nor fear, neither awe nor terror; the poems which recorded their exploits would have failed in the conditions which Mr. Grote requires in "plausible fictions."

Clavier and Gillies, quoted by Mr. Grote p. 43—45, are perplexed by the blank and interruption which history presents from the return of the Heraclidæ to the beginning of the Olympiads. They cannot explain the period of absolute quiescence, after the important incidents of the heroic age. It is remarked that "the obscure transactions of Greece during the four following centuries ill correspond with the splendour of the Trojan war." Mr. Grote, adopting this idea, comments upon it and adapts it to his purpose p. 45, 46: "When we make the proper distinction between legend and history, it will be seen that a period of blank time between the two is perfectly conformable to the conditions under which the former is generated.—We thus see how it happened that between the times assigned to heroic adventure and those of historical record there existed a blank filled with inglorious names. — The obscure and barren centuries which immediately precede the first recorded Olympiad form the natural separation between the legendary return of the Heraclidæ and the historical wars of Sparta against Messene—between the province of Legend and that of History."

Let us first enquire how far this account is accurate. The revolution in Peloponnesus produced by the irruption of the Dorians was not accomplished in a single year. The year assigned, the 80th from the fall of Troy, may express the successful entrance of the sons of Aristomachus. But the contest between the old inhabitants and the invaders was doubtless prolonged through many years. Aletes did not acquire Corinth till the 30th year after the Return<sup>b</sup>, Epidaurus and Sicyon<sup>c</sup> are subdued by the sons of Temenus. Trœzen is acquired after Argos<sup>d</sup>, Phlius by the grandson of Temenus after the settlement of Sicyon<sup>e</sup>. Ægina after Epidaurus<sup>f</sup>. The descendants of Orestes conquered the northern province, which was named from them Achaia. But after that event

<sup>b</sup> F. H. I p. 130.

<sup>c</sup> For Sicyon see Pausanias II. 6, 4.  
Epidaurus by Deiphontes after the death

of Temenus: Pausan. II. 26, 2.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. II. 30, 9.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. 13, 1. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. 29, 5.

a grandson of Penthilus migrated from Helice to Elis<sup>g</sup>. Megara was occupied by the Dorians after the war with Codrus<sup>h</sup>. The migration of the Nelidæ to Athens, the war in which Codrus fell, the Æolian and Ionian colonies,—these were important transactions, and these occupied a long series of years from the epoch assigned to the Return<sup>i</sup>. The last recorded date connected with the Asiatic colonies descends to about the 90th year from that epoch. If we assume the public life of Lycurgus at B. C. 852—817<sup>k</sup>, it commenced about 137 years after the war with Codrus and the acquisition of Megara. But within that period the Lacedæmonians carried on obstinate and sharply contested wars with the Argives<sup>l</sup> and Arcadians. In the time of Lycurgus Iphitus reigned in Elis; and these two will not come within the description of “inglorious names.”

But although there was no paucity of events within that period, there seems to have been a paucity of records. And yet upon this point we cannot speak with certainty because all the historians, Ephorus, Anaximenes, and others, who treated of that time, are lost. We perceive however that no early poets recorded those events, and we are led to enquire whence it came to pass that the poets, who flourished in that period or soon after it, employed themselves upon the old heroic times instead of describing contemporary events. We may solve the question by surveying the political state of the Greeks. The Æolians and Ionians, who had recently passed into Asia, were far superior in civilisation to the new masters of Peloponnesus. Homer was an Ionian, Hesiod was of Æolian descent; but no Dorian poet is heard of before the Olympiad of Corœbus. The Thessali had produced by their irruption into the Northern province a similar effect to that which the *Dores* and *Ætoli* had wrought in the South. In each of these great movements rude and barbarous tribes had expelled a more civilised people. The Æolians and Ionians carried with them into Asia the memorials of their progenitors, the songs which had celebrated their fathers in their original country.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. V. 4, 2.    <sup>h</sup> Ibid. I. 39, 4.

<sup>i</sup> The death of Codrus is 59 years, the final establishment of Smyrna 89 years, after that era. See F. H. I p. 140.

<sup>k</sup> F. H. I p. 141.

<sup>l</sup> See F. H. I p. 334, 335 under the reigns of Echestratus Eurypon and Labotas, and especially Prytanis at p. 335 and the remark of Aristotle there quoted.

They regarded with aversion the conquerors who had expelled them. They fondly cherished the memory of former splendour, and of the ancient heroes from whom they sprung. In this state of the public mind, the author of the *Iliad* seized upon those topics which most powerfully affected the feelings of his auditors and his own as an Ionian Greek. We cannot doubt that he formed his work upon the songs of elder poets which he adorned with his own genius. His comprehensive plan embraced nearly all the dynasties that ruled in Greece within the heroic period; and there was no part of his subject that would not find a ready hearer; for, although the colonies bore the names of *Æolian* and *Ionian*, yet they were composed of various tribes and families. All those who were expatriated by the movement in Greece, all who were dissatisfied at home under the revolutions there produced, had joined the band of colonists<sup>m</sup>. The transcendent merit of the *Iliad* fixed the national taste. The adventures of the age of heroes, interesting already to the descendants of those heroes in a foreign land, now acquired a still stronger interest from the excellence of the poetry in which those actions were described; and the epic poets who came nearest in time to Homer followed the great master in taking their subjects from the same sources. These appear to be the causes why so large a body of epic poetry was employed upon the heroic ages, and why no poets arose in the period between the Dorian conquest and the Messenian war to commemorate events which were then passing in Proper Greece.

If any incline to think that the marvellous additions and fables which were ingrafted by the epic poets upon the tale of Troy cast a doubt on the reality of the event itself, we may observe that something similar has occurred in modern ages. The Crusades were real events; and yet the Crusades were adorned by authors both in prose and verse, in the ages which immediately followed, with as many fabulous circumstances, as many wonderful tales, as any that were told of the war of Troy and its consequences.

<sup>m</sup> See F. H. I p. 103. 113.



776	Ol. 1 <i>Coræbus Eleus</i> . About July B. C. 776. Within the Eusebian year 1240; and that Eusebian year was completed in the autumn of B. C. 776, and three months of the first Olympic year belong to the year 1240 and nine months to 1241. The Armenian copy of the Chronicon of Eusebius marks the first Olympic year at the year in which it commenced, Hieronymus at the year in which it ended.
775	The 3rd year of <i>Æschylus</i> (or 13th by some accounts) and the Eusebian year 1241 extended according to the scheme of Eusebius from autumn B. C. 776 to autumn B. C. 775; and the second Olympic year from July B. C. 775 began within it. <i>Arctinus</i> flourished. The fiction that <i>Arctinus</i> was the disciple of Homer attests his high antiquity. He might occupy 32 years, B. C. 775—740. To <i>Arctinus</i> are ascribed two works, the <i>Æthiopis</i> and the <i>Ilii persis</i> .
774	(Pandusia and Metapontum founded.)
772	Ol. 2 <i>Antimachus Eleus</i> .
768	Ol. 3 <i>Androclus Messenius</i> .
765	The 13th of the archon <i>Æschylus</i> ; coinciding with the Eusebian year 1251 from autumn B. C. 766 to autumn 765, within which the 12th Olympic year Ol. 3. 4 commenced in July 765. By another reckoning, the 23rd of <i>Æschylus</i> . <i>Cinætho</i> flourished.
764	Ol. 4 <i>Polychares Messenius</i> .
761	<i>Eumelus</i> and <i>Arctinus</i> flourished. <i>Eumelus</i> was contemporary with <i>Phintas</i> king of Messenia, and reached the times of <i>Archias</i> . Which might place him at B. C. 761—731.
760	Ol. 5 <i>Æschines Eleus</i> .
758	<i>Telestes</i> king of Corinth, the fifth from <i>Bacchis</i> , reigns 12 years.
757	The 21st of the archon <i>Æschylus</i> is placed by Eusebius at the year 1259 commencing in autumn B. C. 758. By another reckoning that 21st year is placed 10 years higher.
756	Ol. 6 <i>Æbotas Dymæus</i> . Trapezus founded. A colony of Sinope.
754	<i>Alcmæon</i> 2 years, commencing in the Eusebian year 1262, which began in autumn B. C. 755. By another computation <i>Alcmæon</i> has 12 years commencing in B. C. 764.
753	The second year of <i>Alcmæon</i> , in the Eusebian year 1263. The 12th by another account. [Rome founded: <i>Varro</i> .] <i>Antimachus</i> of <i>Teos</i> flourished.

752	Ol. 7 <i>Daicles Messenius</i> . The first year of Charops is current in Ol. 7. 1 in the Eusebian year 1264 commencing autumn B. C. 753.
751	[Rome founded : <i>Cato</i> .]
750	[Rome founded : <i>Polybius</i> .] Milesian Empire of the sea. Colonies of Miletus about this period or a little later ; Icarus, Lerus, Limnæ, Abydus, Arisba, Pæsus, Artace, Cyzicus, Scepsis, Naucratis, Tius, Phasis, Dioscurias, Apollonia on the Euxine, Theudosia and Panticapæum, Cæpi, Tyras, Olbia or Borysthenes. This last after B. C. 711.
748	Ol. 8 <i>Anticles Messenius</i> . Phidon tyrant of Argos celebrated the 8th Olympic games.
747	[Rome founded : <i>Fabius</i> .] Era of Nabonassar, from Feb. 27 B. C. 747.
745	First annual <i>prytanis</i> at Corinth, 90 years before the reign of Cypselus.
744	Ol. 9 <i>Xenocles Messenius</i> . Second annual <i>prytanis</i> at Corinth. The preceding reigns—Prumnis 35 years B. C. 959, Bacchis 35 B. C. 924, Agelas 30 B. C. 889, Eudemus 25 B. C. 859, Aristodemus 35 B. C. 834, Agemon 16 B. C. 799, Alexander 25 B. C. 783, Telestes 12 B. C. 758, Automenes 1 B. C. 746. <i>Eumelus</i> flourished. One of the Bacchiadæ.
743	First Messenian war.
742	Æsimedes second decennial archon.
740	Ol. 10 <i>Dotades Messenius</i> .
736	Ol. 11 <i>Lachares Messenius</i> . ( <i>Callinus</i> of <i>Ephesus</i> flourished.)
735	Naxos founded, the year before Syracuse.
734	Archias founded Syracuse. Chersicrates the founder of Corcyra was the companion of Archias. Myscellus the founder of Crotona was also contemporary with Archias.
732	Ol. 12 <i>Oxythemis Coronæus</i> . Archias, 3rd decennial archon. The Carians are masters of the sea for 61 years.
730	Leontium and Catana are founded in the 5th year after Syracuse.
728	Ol. 13 <i>Diocles Corinthius</i> . Megara Hyblæa founded. [Rome founded : <i>Cincius</i> .] <i>Philolaus</i> the Corinthian flourished. One of the Bacchiadæ. The legislator of the Thebans.

724	Ol. 14 <i>Dasmon Corinthius</i> . The <i>diaulus</i> added at the Olympic games.
723	First Messenian war ended.
722	Hippomenes 4th decennial archon, in the Eusebian year 1294 commencing in autumn B. C. 723.
721	Sybaris founded according to the combined accounts of Diodorus and Scymnus.
720	Ol. 15 <i>Orsippus Megarensis</i> . The <i>dolichus</i> added. Foundation of Thasos.
718	(War of the Argives and Lacedæmonians for the territory of Thyrea.)
716	Ol. 16 <i>Pythagoras Laco</i> . Gyges began to reign in Lydia 38 years. Libanius Epitaph. tom. I p. 622 αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ὁ δυσσεβὴς δορυφόρος εἰς δυοῖν δέοντα τετταράκοντα. Foundation of Mylæ in Sicily.
715	(The Milesians planted Abydos in the reign of Gyges.)
712	Ol. 17 <i>Polus Epidaurius</i> . Leocrates 5th decennial archon. Astacus founded by the Megarians. The inhabitants of Astacus were afterwards transferred to Nicomedia. Compare Memnon and Strabo quoted in F. H. III p. 412=422. This happened in B. C. 264, 448 years after the foundation of Astacus. <i>Callinus</i> was near the times of Archilochus. He survived the destruction of Magnesia, and might flourish about B. C. 736—712.
711	The death of Sennacherib king of Assyria is fixed to the beginning of B. C. 711. Upon his death the Medes revolted, about the close of B. C. 711, in the beginning of Ol. 17. 2, a little more than a year before the reign of Deioces in Herodotus. The Assyrians governed Upper Asia 520 years B. C. 1230—710 according to Herodotus, or 526 years B. C. 1237—711 according to Alexander Polyhistor.
710	Crotona founded by Myscellus. Founded before Tarentum; for the settlers at Tarentum found Achæans already in the country. Sybaris, which had been founded before Crotona in 721, flourished for 210 years. It was destroyed by the Crotoniatæ in B. C. 511 Ol. 67. 2.
709	The 53 years of Deioces begin at this date in Herodotus, who computed 150 years from Deioces inclusive to the beginning of the reign of Cyrus.
708	Ol. 18 <i>Tellis Sicyonius</i> . The Partheniæ found Tarentum, the Corinthians Corcyra. When Chersicrates arrived at Cor-



	<p>cyra, he found the island preoccupied by the Eretrians; their expulsion led to the foundation of Methone. Thasos founded by the Parians. The <i>lucta</i> and <i>quinguertium</i> added to the Olympic games.</p> <p><i>Archilochus</i> participated in the colony to Thasos. He was born in the reign of Romulus, and lived in the reign of Gyges.</p>
704	Ol. 19 <i>Menus Megarensis</i> . Ameinocles of Corinth builds four triremes for the Samians.
702	Apsander 6th decennial archon, in the Eusebian year 1314 commencing in autumn B. C. 703.
700	Ol. 20 <i>Atheradus Laco</i> .
696	Ol. 21 <i>Pantacles Atheniensis</i> .
693	<i>Simonides</i> of <i>Amorgus</i> flourished. Contemporary with <i>Archilochus</i> . Simonides might flourish 32 years B. C. 693—662.
692	Ol. 22 <i>Pantacles Atheniensis II</i> . Eryxias 7th decennial archon, in the Eusebian year 1324 which was computed from autumn B. C. 693.
691	<i>Glaucus</i> of <i>Chios</i> flourished.
690	Gela is founded in Sicily by Antiphemus the Rhodian and Entimus of Crete. Foundation of Phaselis in Pamphylia.—Founded by Lacius the brother of Antiphemus.
688	Ol. 23 <i>Icarius Hyperesius</i> . The <i>πυγμή</i> added to the Olympic games. The first victor is Onomastus of Smyrna, now an Ionian state.
687	<p>The empire of the Medes commences from this date, the 23rd year of their independence. Their empire of 128 years terminates at the reign of Cyrus B. C. 559.</p> <p><i>Archilochus</i> flourished. The earliest notice of Archilochus is at B. C. 708, the latest at B. C. 665. He might have been eminent 45 years.</p>
685	(Second Messenian war according to Pausanias. But Pausanias is five years too high in the decennial archons, and four years too high in the time of Creon, and probably six years too high in the date of the second Messenian war.)
684	Ol. 24 <i>Cleoptolemus Laco</i> .
683	<p>Creon first annual archon. He commenced at midsummer B. C. 683, for Philinus the 903rd archon commenced at midsummer A. D. 220. The seven decennial archons completed only 69 years, commencing at midsummer B. C. 752.</p> <p><i>Tyrtæus</i> flourished in the second Messenian war, and came to Sparta after the first successes of the Messenians.</p>

681	Lysias archon at Athens. Called Tlesias by Pausanias.
680	Ol. 25 <i>Thalpis Laco</i> . The <i>quadriga</i> added to the games.
679	(The victory of the Lacedæmonians in the battle of the Trenches was in this year according to Pausanias.)
678	Ardys king of Lydia 49 years.
676	Ol. 26 <i>Callisthenes Laco</i> . Philimbrotus the Laconian is victor in the <i>quinquertium</i> in this and the two following Olympiads. The <i>Carnea</i> instituted at Lacedæmon. <i>Terpander</i> flourished. First victor in the <i>Carnea</i> . He four times gained the prize at the <i>Pythia</i> —the ancient <i>Pythia</i> described by Pausanias. <i>Terpander</i> , who was eminent in B. C. 676—644, was about 30 years younger than <i>Archilochus</i> , with whose latter time his early years might be contemporary.
675	Cyzicus founded by the Megarians. Some authorities make Cyzicus a Milesian colony and place it at B. C. 756. The first settlement probably decayed, and a second was made by the Megarians at the present date.
674	Chalcedon founded by Archias of Megara. Founded 17 years before Byzantium.
673	(Locri in Italy is founded according to Eusebius in the year 1343 commencing in autumn B. C. 674. But more probably founded Ol. 17, 36 or 38 years before this date. Founded however after Syracuse.)
672	Ol. 27 <i>Eurybus Atheniensis</i> . Pantaleon king of Pisa participated in the second Messenian war. He probably joined the Messenians in the latter years of the war, in B. C. 674.
671	Leostratus archon at Athens. The Lesbians have the dominion of the sea for 69 years. The term of 61 years ascribed to the Carians terminates at the Eusebian year 1344, and may be expressed by B. C. 732—672 both inclusive. <i>Alcman</i> is referred to this date. <i>Alcman</i> was of Lydian origin.
670	Psammetichus king of Egypt begins to reign 145 years before the death of <i>Amasis</i> : and <i>Amasis</i> died in the beginning of B. C. 525.
669	The Argives defeat the Lacedæmonians at Hysiaë, in the archonship of Pisistratus at Athens. Damocratidas is king of Argos at this time.
668	Ol. 28 <i>Chionis Laco</i> . Autosthenes archon at Athens. (End of the second Messenian war according to Pausanias. It is probable that the whole war is to be placed about six years lower, at B. C. 679—662.) According to Africanus the Pisatæ presided at Ol. 28, but according to Strabo at Ol. 27.

665	<p>The <i>Gymnopædia</i> instituted at Sparta in the Eusebian year 1351 computed from autumn B. C. 666.</p> <p><i>Archilochus</i> and <i>Simonides</i> are named together at the year 1351. <i>Thaletas</i> continued to flourish after the <i>Gymnopædia</i>. Accounted the first composer of songs for the Pyrrhic dance.</p>
664	<p>Ol. 29 <i>Chionis Laco II</i>. Sea fight between the Corinthians and Corcyreans. Acræ and Enna founded.</p> <p>[<i>Arion</i> is placed at Ol. 29 by Solinus.]</p>
662	(Selymbria founded a little before Byzantium.)
660	<p>Ol. 30 <i>Chionis Laco III</i>. The Pisæans participated in the presidency of the Olympic games for this and the next 22 Olympiads Ol. 30—52 during their independent period. After Ol. 52 they were subjected by the Eleans, who resumed the sole administration of the games.</p> <p><i>Zaleucus</i> the Locrian legislator flourished.</p>
659	<p>Miltiades archon at Athens. Phigalia taken by the Lacedæmonians.</p> <p>Birth of <i>Epimenides</i> of Crete.</p>
657	<p>Byzantium founded. A Megarian colony : Themist. Or. XXIII p. 298 Μέγαρα ἀφ' ὧν ὠρμήθησαν οἱ τῷ Βοσπόρῳ προσοικήσαντες. Those who ascribed the colony to Athens, as Ammianus 22. 8, 8 Himerius Or. VII p. 512, are refuted by the Doric dialect (conf. Demosth. de Cor. p. 255) confirming the Doric origin of Byzantium.</p> <p><i>Alcman</i> and <i>Lesches</i> are named at the Eusebian year 1359 computed from autumn B. C. 658. <i>Lesches</i> was the author of the <i>Ilias parva</i>. <i>Alcman</i> flourished in the reign of Ardys. As he mentioned Polymnastus, he may have occupied a space of 40 years B. C. 671—631. <i>Alcman</i> was older than <i>Stesichorus</i> and the preceptor of <i>Arion</i>.</p>
656	Ol. 31 <i>Chionis Laco IV</i> . Phraortes king of Media 22 years.
655	Cypselus began his reign of 30 years. The expelled <i>Bacchiadae</i> withdraw from Corinth to Lacedæmon.
654	<p><i>Acanthus</i> and <i>Stagira</i> founded ; <i>Lampsacus</i> and <i>Abdera</i>. <i>Abdera</i> was occupied by Clazomenians under Timesias. <i>Lampsacus</i> was a Milesian settlement ; but it also was a Phocæan colony, founded by Phobus of Phocæa. The original foundation was by the Phocæans, the second colony was planted by the Milesians.</p>
652	Ol. 32 <i>Cratinus Megarensis</i> .
651	Birth of <i>Pittacus</i> according to Suidas. This date for his birth will make him past 80 at his death in B. C. 569.



648	Ol. 33 <i>Gylis Laco</i> . The <i>pancratium</i> added, and the race <i>ἵππῳ κέλῃτι</i> . Myron of <i>Sicyon</i> is victor in the chariot race. Himera founded 240 years before its destruction in B. C. 408.
647	<i>Pisander</i> flourished. Of Camira, author of the <i>Heraclias</i> . Still living in B. C. 631.
644	Ol. 34 <i>Stomus Atheniensis</i> . Dropilus archon. Pantaleon king of Pisa celebrated the Olympic games. The Pisæans in this Olympiad assumed the presidency, excluding the Eleans. But they participated in the presidency jointly with the Eleans for 26 Olympiads, Ol. 27—52 B. C. 676—572. Pantaleon had been engaged in the second Messenian war, and might begin to reign 30 years before this date. Casmenæ founded by the Syracusans, 20 years after Acraë. <i>Terpander</i> , who flourished B. C. 676, is still eminent in music. <i>Thaletas</i> flourished after the <i>Gymnopædia</i> B. C. 665. <i>Polymnastus</i> was later than <i>Thaletas</i> , whom he mentioned. He probably intervened between <i>Thaletas</i> and <i>Alcman</i> , and was in part contemporary with both. We may place <i>Thaletas</i> at B. C. 690—660 and <i>Polymnastus</i> at B. C. 675—644; and refer <i>Alcman</i> to B. C. 671—631. <i>Terpander</i> is at B. C. 676—644, and this date of his improvements in the Spartan music, given by the Parian Marble, places them below those of <i>Thaletas</i> .
640	Ol. 35 <i>Sphaeron Laco</i> . Cylon of Athens is victor in the <i>diaulus</i> .
639	Damasias archon at Athens. First establishment of Battus at Platea. (Birth of <i>Thales</i> in the Eusebian year 1377 or 1378, B. C. 639 or 638. But the year of his birth and the exact duration of his life cannot now be known.)
637	Second settlement of Battus.
636	Ol. 36 <i>Phrynon Atheniensis</i> . Afterwards slain in single combat by Pittacus.
635	The Cimmerians take Sardis in the reign of Ardys, a little before the irruption of the Scythians into Western Asia. The Cimmerians however had often before overrun the North of Asia Minor, and penetrated to Ionia at least a century before the Olympiad of Coræbus. According to Aristotle they held Antandros in Mysia for 100 years. After their last irruption they were expelled by Alyattes, and therefore not before B. C. 617.
634	Phraortes slain by the Assyrians. His son Cyaxares is interrupted in the siege of Nineveh by the irruption of the Scythians. Cyaxares reigned 40 years B. C. 634—595; a period which included the 28 years of the Scythians.

633	Istrus and Tomi, Milesian colonies.
632	Ol. 37 <i>Euryclidas Laco</i> . <i>Puerorum stadium</i> and <i>lucta puerorum</i> added to the games. Third year of the Scythian dominion in Asia. Birth of <i>Stesichorus</i> .
631	Battus founds Cyrene, more than 300 years before B. C. 311. The first Battus reigned 40 years. <i>Pisander of Camira</i> still flourished after the establishment of Battus at Cyrene; and we may ascribe to him a period of 25 years B. C. 647—623.
630	The Milesians are established in Egypt in the reigns of Psammetichus and Cyaxares. They founded Naucratis after B. C. 670 and before B. C. 569. <i>Mimnermus</i> flourished. He reached the times of the ἐπὶ σοφοί, and might occupy 45 years, B. C. 630—586.
629	Foundation of Sinope and of Lipara. Sinope was a Milesian colony; and had founded Trapezus 130 years before this epoch. Sinope then must have had two epochs. Scymnus mentions three: one in the fabulous times by <i>Autolycus</i> , a second by <i>Ambron</i> of Miletus who was slain by the Cimmerians, a third by <i>Cous</i> and <i>Critines</i> , also Milesians, during the occupation of Asia by the Cimmerians, who were now in Asia Minor. They first appeared there (as already observed) at least 100 years before B. C. 776. An irruption is recorded at 782. Their last inroad was in 635. The settlement of Ambron may be referred to B. C. 782, 26 years before the era assigned to Trapezus, and it is probable that, although Ambron was slain, the colony remained. The settlement of <i>Cous</i> and <i>Critines</i> we may place at the present date, the Eusebian year 1387, six years after the Cimmerians had broken into Asia. Sadyattes succeeds Ardys, 12 years.
628	Ol. 38 <i>Olyntheus Laco</i> . The <i>puerorum quinquertium</i> is added to the games. Selinus founded by the people of Megara Hyblæa. The Megarians send colonists to Byzantium; but, as Byzantium was founded about 30 years before this date, and as the original colony was ascribed to Byzas, it is probable that this expedition under Zeuxippus was a second colony. The Byzantine settlers subjected the natives, as the Spartans the Helots. <i>Aristoxenus</i> of <i>Selinus</i> , who is mentioned by Epicharmus as an early poet, is placed at B. C. 662, 34 years before the foundation of Selinus. That he lived before Selinus was founded may be admitted, if we understand him to have been born in another state (perhaps at Megara), to have been a colonist to Selinus, and afterwards (like Epicharmus himself) to have borne the appellation of the state in which he settled. But the date assigned, B. C. 662, is probably some years too high.

627	(Lipara founded in the Eusebian year 1389. But Diodorus assigns a date 48 years below this epoch; from whence it appears that there were two accounts of the time of this colony.)
626	Prusias founded in the Eusebian year 1390.
625	Epidamnus founded in the Eusebian year 1391, computed from the autumn B. C. 626. Periander succeeds Cypselus, 40 years. Fragmentum Nicolai Damasceni e Cod. Escoriali apud Müller fragm. Hist. Gr. tom. 3 p. 393 Κύψελος δὲ Κορίνθου πρῶτος ἦρχεν—βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη λ' ἐτελεύτησε τέσσαρας υἱοὺς καταλιπὼν, ὧν γνήσιος μὲν ἦν Περίανδρος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νόθοι. Arion flourished in the reign of Periander. He was later than Terpander. The invention of the cyclian or dithyrambic chorus is ascribed to him by Hellanicus, by Aristotle, and by Dicæarchus.
624	Ol. 39 <i>Rhipsolcus Laco</i> . Procles tyrant of Epidaurus is contemporary with Periander, who married his daughter Lyside or Melissa; after whose death Periander made war upon Procles. Procles had married the daughter of Aristocrates of Arcadia, and from the time of those with whom he was connected we may conjecture his age. In B. C. 625 his son-in-law Periander was 40 years of age, and his father-in-law Aristocrates had been dead 42 years.
623	Milesian war. The 6th year coincided with the last year of Sadyattes B. C. 618. Consequently the war began in the 7th of Sadyattes, B. C. 623.
621	Legislation of Draco.
620	Ol. 40 <i>Olyntheus Laco II</i> . (The attempt of Cylon was made in an Olympic year, long before Epimenides came to Athens, who came before the legislation of Solon. We may therefore probably place the attempt of Cylon at an intermediate point, 20 years after his Olympic victory, and 24 years before the visit of Epimenides.) <i>Æsopus</i> the fabulist was probably born in Ol. 40 cir. B. C. 619, and flourished in Ol. 52, cir. B. C. 571.
617	Alyattes succeeds Sadyattes. He has 57 years in Herodot. I. 25 and in Libanius Epitaph. tom. I p. 622 ὁ δὲ εἰς ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. In his reign the Cimmerians were finally expelled from Asia Minor. They had captured Sardis about 18 years before the accession of Alyattes. From their first appearance in Asia Minor to their final expulsion were at least 260 years.
616	Ol. 41 <i>Cleondas Thebanus</i> . The <i>puerorum pugilatus</i> added. Neco king of Egypt succeeds Psammetichus, 16 years.



612	Ol. 42 <i>Lycotas Laco</i> . Peace with Miletus. Thrasybulus, at this time tyrant of Miletus, is the friend of Periander. Contemporary with Periander of Corinth (now in the 14th year of his reign) was Periander of Ambracia. Ambracia had been planted in the reign of Cypselus, by <i>Tolqus</i> , who was either a son of Cypselus or a brother. The tyranny of Periander of Ambracia was probably not put down by the people till after the death of Periander of Corinth. According to Plutarch De Her. Mal. p. 859 D the Lacedæmonians assisted in putting down both these tyrannies : <i>Κυψελίδας μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἀμβρακίας</i> .
611	Pittacus overthrows the tyranny of Melanchrus at Lesbos. <i>Sappho Alcaeus</i> and <i>Stesichorus</i> flourished. Alcaeus is fixed to this period by the time of Pittacus.
610	Birth of <i>Anaximander</i> , 63 years before Ol. 58. 2. <i>Arion</i> flourished. His escape from pirates in a voyage to Corinth or to Methymne seems to have been a real transaction poetically ornamented with the incident of the dolphin.
609	Apollonia on the Euxine founded, 50 years before B. C. 559. A Milesian colony. Josiah king of Judah is slain at Megiddo about May B. C. 609, in the 7th year of the reign of Neco.
608	Ol. 43 <i>Cleon Epidaurius</i> . Panætius becomes tyrant of Leontium. Twenty-seventh year of the Scythian occupation of Asia.
607	Last year of the Scythian dominion in Asia. They held Asia 28 years, and were expelled in the year before the capture of Nineveh.
606	Nineveh is captured by Cyaxares and the Babylonians. Nineveh was destroyed after the death of king Josiah, more than 100 years after the death of Sennacherib, and after the 28th year of <i>Cyaxares</i> was completed. These characters of time fix the event to B. C. 606. Combat of Pittacus and Phrynon in the Eusebián year 1410 commencing in autumn B. C. 607. Thirty years after the Olympic victory of Phrynon, and 16 before the government of Pittacus. <i>Alcaeus</i> is mentioned in the war between the Athenians and Mytilenæans.
604	Ol. 44 <i>Gelon Laco</i> .
600	Ol. 45 <i>Anticrates Epidaurius</i> . Psammis succeeds Neco 6 years. Massilia is founded by the Phocæans Euxenus and his son Protus 120 years before the battle of Salamis. When the Phocæans in B. C. 544 abandoned Phocæa, and proceeded to Corsica, a part of them was received at Massilia and joined

	the former colonists. Thucydides refers to the original colony ; Ammianus XV. 9. 7 marks the second migration. Herodotus marks the early colonies of the Phocæans in the West, though without naming Massilia.
599	Camarina is founded 135 years after Syracuse. Destroyed 46 years after its foundation, in B. C. 553. First restored by Hippocrates, and then by Gelon.
596	Ol. 46 <i>Chrysomachus Laco</i> . <i>Polymestor Milesius puerorum stadium</i> . ( <i>Epimenides</i> came to Athens within B. C. 605 and 596. Probably in 596. He was at Athens before the legislation of Solon.)
595	Birth of Cræsus. The Cirrhæan war lasted 10 years, and in the 10th Cirrha was taken. The termination of the war was in B. C. 586, which places the beginning in 595. In this war <i>Clisthenes</i> commanded the forces of Sicyon and <i>Alcmæon</i> the Athenians. Philombrotus archon at Athens. <i>Sappho</i> flourished B. C. 611—592. Contemporary with <i>Sappho</i> were <i>Damophyle</i> and <i>Erinna</i> .
594	Solon archon. Legislation of Solon. Astyages succeeds Cyaxares, 35 years. Apries reigns in Egypt, 25 years.
593	Dropides archon at Athens.
592	Ol. 47 <i>Eurycles Laco</i> . (Odessus was founded by the Milesians within the reign of Astyages B. C. 594—560.) <i>Anacharsis</i> comes to Athens.
591	Simonides archon. Cirrha taken by the Amphictyons under Eurylochus. Battus I of Cyrene is succeeded by Arcesilaus, 16 years.
589	Pittacus governs Mytilene for 10 years. <i>Alcaus</i> the poet is in exile, and opposed to the government of Pittacus.
588	Ol. 48 <i>Glaucias Crotoniates</i> . Pythagoras of Samos victor in wrestling. Damophon son of Pantaleon is towards the end of his reign as king of Pisa. His father Pantaleon celebrated Ol. 34, and was engaged in the second Messenian war, 80 years before Ol. 48 ; and yet Pyrrhus, also son of Pantaleon, reigned after Damophon. The war of Pyrrhus against the Eleans, in which the Eleans were successful, may be placed at Ol. 52 B. C. 572.
586	The conquest of the Cirrhæans is completed, and the Pythian games are celebrated in Ol. 48. 3. Damasias II archon at Athens.

	<p><i>Sacadas</i> of <i>Argos</i> gained the prize at the three first <i>Pythia</i> B. C. 586, 582, 578. After him <i>Pythocritus</i> of <i>Sicyon</i> in the six following <i>Pythia</i>, <i>Pyth.</i> 4—9 B. C. 574—554. The songs of <i>Sacadas</i> were sung by the <i>Messenians</i> upon their restoration in B. C. 369.</p> <p>The seven wise men are referred to the archonship of <i>Damasias</i> B. C. 586. At this date <i>Thales</i> was about 52 years of age, <i>Pittacus</i> in the 5th year of his government of <i>Mytilene</i>. <i>Solon</i> had been archon eight years before, <i>Periander</i> is still living æt. 79. <i>Chilon</i> was already known ten years before this period, and was an old man in B. C. 572.</p>
585	Death of <i>Periander</i> after a reign of 40 years.
584	Ol. 49 <i>Lycinus Crotoniates</i> .
582	<i>Clisthenes</i> of <i>Sicyon</i> is victor in the second <i>Pythia</i> Ol. 49. 3. <i>Agrigentum</i> is founded 108 years after <i>Gela</i> , in the 153rd year after <i>Syracuse</i> and the 18th after <i>Camarina</i> .
581	The dynasty of the <i>Cypselidæ</i> at <i>Corinth</i> ended after 73 <sup>y</sup> 6 <sup>m</sup> . This period began in Ol. 31. 2. It would terminate at the close of Ol. 49. 3 in the 4th year current of <i>Psammetichus</i> . After the overthrow of the <i>Cypselidæ</i> the <i>Corinthians</i> endeavoured to erase the name of <i>Cypselus</i> from the offerings at <i>Delphi</i> and at <i>Pisa</i> .
580	Ol. 50 <i>Epiteldas Laco</i> . The <i>Hellandicæ</i> are augmented to two. Till this time, one had presided. At this period, when two were appointed, the <i>Pisæans</i> still shared in the direction of the games.
579	<i>Lipara</i> founded by the <i>Cnidians</i> . There were seven islands, and <i>Lipara</i> , the largest, received this colony.
577	<i>Archestratides</i> archon at <i>Athens</i> .
576	Ol. 51 <i>Eratosthenes Crotoniates</i> .
575	The naval empire of the <i>Phocæans</i> , for 44 years, commenced in the <i>Eusebian</i> year 1441 computed from autumn B. C. 576. This naval dominion then embraced B. C. 575—532, a period including their settlement in <i>Corsica</i> about B. C. 564, and extending beyond their emigration from <i>Ionia</i> . It will include their second settlement at <i>Corsica</i> of five years, and their naval contest with the <i>Carthaginians</i> ; and probably the last of these 44 years B. C. 532 marks the date of their foundation of <i>Hyela</i> on the coast of <i>Ænotria</i> . The <i>Phocæans</i> are followed by the <i>Samian</i> dominion in B. C. 529. <i>Battus</i> II succeeds <i>Arcesilaus</i> I at <i>Cyrene</i> . He was followed by <i>Arcesilaus</i> II, who was succeeded by <i>Battus</i> III. <i>Arcesilaus</i> III was the sixth king, who about B. C. 524 submitted to <i>Cambyses</i> .



574	<i>Pythocritus</i> is victor at the fourth Pythian games in Ol. 51. 3. The first of his six Pythian prizes.
572	Ol. 52 <i>Agis Eleus</i> . The war of Pisa and Elis in the reign of Pyrrhus ended in the subjection of the Pisæans. They assisted in the games of Ol. 52, and the war conducted by Pyrrhus may be placed after midsummer B. C. 572, about 74 years after Pantaleon had celebrated the 34th Olympiad, and 100 years after the beginning of his reign. <i>Æsopus</i> the fabulist flourished in Ol. 52 and in the reigns of Amasis and Cræsus.
570	Aristomenes archon at Athens. Accession of Phalaris of Agrigentum in the Eusebian year 1446 commencing in autumn B. C. 571. He reigned 16 years.
569	Amasis succeeds Apries, 44 years. His reign terminated in the beginning of B. C. 525, six months before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. Death of Pittacus ten years after his abdication.
568	Ol. 53 <i>Agnon Peparethius</i> .
566	Hippoclide archon at Athens. The <i>Panathenæa Magna</i> are celebrated at Athens in Hecatombæon B. C. 566 Ol. 53. 3. <i>Eugamon</i> of <i>Cyrene</i> flourished. Author of the <i>Telegonia</i> .
564	Ol. 54 <i>Hippostratus Crotoniates</i> . Alalia founded by the Phocæans 20 years before they abandoned Phocæa. They withdrew in 544, and Alalia is placed at 564. When the Phocæans in 544 abandoned Phocæa, the Teians withdrew to Abdera, in the time of the poet <i>Anacreon</i> ; who flourished B. C. 559—525; the Teians withdrew in 543. They returned however afterwards to their own country. (Death of <i>Æsopus</i> the fabulist in Ol. 54.)
563	The Phocæans found Amisus four years before the foundation of Heraclea; which was built by the Megarian and Bœotian colonists in B. C. 559.
560	Ol. 55 <i>Hippostratus Crotoniates II</i> . Comias archon at Athens. Cræsus succeeds Astyages, 14 years.

§ 1 PHIDON of ARGOS is placed by the Parian Marble 314 years after the fall of Troy. This date of the Marble, B. C. 1209—314=895, when reduced to the dates of Eratosthenes (B. C. 1183—314=869) will place Phidon at B. C. 869, coinciding with the times assigned by Eratosthenes to Lycurgus.

And the Marble Diodorus and Satyrus make Phidon the eleventh from Hercules.

But a lower epoch for Phidon is given by Ephorus and Pausanias, who establish that the Olympiad which Phidon celebrated (according to Pausanias the eighth) was omitted in the Elean register. And, as no Olympiads were registered before the Olympiad of Corcebus, it is manifest that this eighth Olympiad was Ol. 8 B. C. 748. And this eighth Olympiad was in the time of Archias, who was the tenth from *Temenus*. Again, the Lacedæmonians had already acquired the lead in Peloponnesus. But this had not yet occurred in the time of Lycurgus.

The lower date is farther confirmed by a narrative which connects Phidon with the times of Archias. He was contemporary with Melissus, and Melissus was contemporary with Archias. Phidon attempted to get possession of Corinth. Habron of Argos, fearing the anger of Phidon, withdrew to the Corinthian territory, where a son, Melissus, was born to him. Melissus was the father of Actæon, and the death of Actæon led to the foundation of Syracuse. According to this narrative the settlement of Habron in the Corinthian territory may have been 45 years before the death of Actæon his grandson, and the attempt of Phidon upon Corinth in the beginning of his reign might be 47 or 48 years before the foundation of Syracuse in B. C. 734. We may assume that he reigned 40 years B. C. 783—744, that he presided at the 8th Olympiad in the 36th year of his reign, and that he was put down by the Lacedæmonians three or four years afterwards. By this arrangement Phidon, the tenth from *Temenus*, according to Ephorus, might be 40 years older than Archias also the tenth from *Temenus*; a difference in age justified by similar cases where the facts are known. But the higher date of the Marble for Phidon is quite inconsistent with the time of Melissus; for, according to that higher date, the attempt upon Corinth in the beginning of the reign of Phidon would have been made 140 years before Syracuse was founded by Archias, with whom Melissus was contemporary. And if the 8th Olympiad in which Phidon presided is placed at B. C. 856, being computed from the Olympiad of Iphitus in 884

according to Eratosthenes, this again would leave 122 years between the time of Phidon and the era of Syracuse.

It appears from Aristotle that Phidon was already king before he made himself absolute. But this will not determine the time of Phidon. For kings may be traced at Argos to a late period. There was a king of Argos in the second Messenian war; and Lacydes or Lacedes reigned in the time of Clisthenes of Sicyon. His son Meltas was deposed by the people; but afterwards Ægon was elected king, and in B. C. 480 a king of Argos is mentioned by Herodotus. These kings however had no great authority, and were probably only nominally kings, while the real power was in the hands of the people.

§ 2 The FIRST MESSENIAN WAR is fixed by Pausanias to B. C. 743—723, and the beginning of the war in 743 is consistent with the time of Polychares, who was Olympic victor in 764. The interval of rest is fixed by Pausanias at the 39th year current, and he collects from Tyrtaeus that the second war was carried on by the grandsons of those who were engaged in the first. Other accounts place 80 and even 90 years between the two wars. The poet Tyrtaeus however does not say that three generations intervened. The three generations included both wars, together with the interval which divided them. One generation then, and not three, came between, as Pausanias has rightly explained it.

Pantaleon king of Pisa was engaged in the second war, whose son Pyrrhus was still living in B. C. 572. Strabo does not absolutely determine in what year of the war he became the ally of the Messenians. Probably not before the sixth year of the war, after the battle in which the Eleans succoured them. But if Pantaleon participated in the campaign of 680 (which was the 6th year of the war according to Pausanias), and if we place his accession in that year at the age of 23 or 24 years, and the death of Pyrrhus in B. C. 570 after the war with the Eleans in the 52nd Olympiad, this will suppose an interval of 110 years for the successive reigns of Pantaleon and his two sons, Damophon and Pyrrhus, and of 133 or 134 years from the birth of the father to the death of the



younger son. It is very possible that Pyrrhus, although called son of Pantaleon, might have been his grandson. The interval however may be justified by similar intervals in times of authentic history. Archidamus and his two sons Agis and Agesilaus reigned successively 108 years, and the space from the birth of Archidamus to the death of Agesilaus was 138 or 140 years. The three successive reigns of Attalus I and his two sons Eumenes and Attalus occupied 103 years; and from the birth of Attalus the father to the death of Attalus II were 131 years. The extent then of the space from Pantaleon to Pyrrhus, even if Pyrrhus were the son and not the grandson, is no objection to the date which Pausanias assigns to the second war. I incline however to place his accession to the war a few years later than B. C. 680. The Pisatæ would not be named as parties in the war until they had become independent. But they acquired independence in Ol. 26; they celebrated Ol. 28, and assisted in the presidency in Ol. 30—52 inclusive. The commencement then of their independence was after Ol. 26, 1 July B. C. 676 and before Ol. 27, 1 July B. C. 672. Pantaleon then probably began to reign, and the Pisatæ participated in the war within that period, about B. C. 674; which reduces the three reigns to 104 years. In this case, if they became allies of the Messenians before the siege of Ira (which the terms of Strabo render probable), Pausanias has placed the whole war about six years too high, and the dates may be reduced to B. C. 679—662, which is quite consistent with the account of Tyrtæus.

The interval from the close of the second war to the restoration of Messenia by Epaminondas in B. C. 369 is called by Pausanias in one place almost 300 years. His dates in another place give 297 years. Other ancient writers give vague accounts of the period of subjection. It is 400 years in Isocrates and Dinarchus. The 400 years current would ascend to B. C. 768, 25 years before the commencement of the first war. Lycurgus calls the space 500 years, which carry us back to the time of the legislator Lycurgus. Plutarch names 230 years, which would bring down the conclusion of the second war to B. C. 599. The number in Plutarch is probably corrupt; the general statements of Isocrates

Dinarchus and Lycurgus afford no assistance in fixing the date of the second war.

The dates of Pausanias are confirmed by the account which is given of Aristomenes, who is said after his settlement at Rhodes to have meditated a visit to Ardys king of Lydia and Phraortes king of Media. Ardys reigned B. C. 678—630, Phraortes B. C. 656—635; and these periods are consistent with the termination of the war in 668, or six years later, in 662. But, if the second war had commenced at the times assigned by other writers, B. C. 644 or 634, Aristomenes could not have settled at Rhodes till after these kings had ceased to reign.

The duration of the second war is not clearly ascertained. The dates of Pausanias do not agree with his detail. His dates give 17 years, but only 14 years are described in his narrative, namely

- 1 The battle at Deræ.
- 2 The battle at the boars grave.
- 3 The battle of the trenches.
- 4—14 The siege of Ira, eleven years.

In Pausanias only two battles are recorded before the battle of the trenches; but Justin speaks of three. The battle of the trenches, which gave the victory to the Lacedæmonians, is attested by Polybius and by Tyrtæus himself. The death of Aristocrates king of Messenia is placed by Pausanias eleven years after the battle of the trenches; Plutarch with less probability assigns a much longer interval. If the war lasted 17 years according to Pausanias, his own account will place the battle of the trenches in the 6th year instead of the third, and a longer space than he has assigned must be given before the arrival of Tyrtæus. Arranging the events by the dates of Pausanias, we may refer the battle of the trenches to the campaign of 679, the commencement of the siege to the beginning of 678, the capture of Ira in the 11th year to the autumn of 668. That battle had been preceded by five campaigns, and was in the sixth year of the war, if the war began, as Pausanias affirms, in the autumn of 685.

Theopompus places the capture of Messene in the time of the philosopher Pherecydes, who flourished within B. C. 600—544. This would be irreconcilable with every account of the

Messenian wars. But we learn from Porphyry that Theopompus has inaccurately ascribed to Pherecydes and Messenia what in reality belonged to Pythagoras and Sybaris.

The Messenians were not finally subdued in the war of Aristomenes, which ended according to Pausanias in B. C. 668. They made a third effort about the time of the battle of Marathon. And the poet Rhianus brought down the war of Aristomenes to the reign of Leotychides of Sparta. Pausanias shews this to be an error. But though he has partly discovered the error of Rhianus, he has fallen into a similar mistake himself. Each has confounded the third Messenian war with the second. Rhianus brings down Aristomenes to the reign of Leotychides; Pausanias carries back Anaxilaus of Rhegium to the time of Aristomenes. But the true time of the third war, as marked by Plato, who ascribes it to the year of Marathon, coincided with the reigns of Leotychides and Anaxilaus. The battle of Marathon occurred in the second year of the reign of Leotychides at Sparta and the fifth of Anaxilaus at Rhegium.

§ 3 The chronology of the MEDIAN KINGS as stated by Herodotus has given rise to much speculation. Wesseling gives the conjectures of various critics together with his own, principally to adapt the total period, 156 years, to the amount of the four Median reigns, 150 years. The result of so many conjectures is, that not one of the numbers of Herodotus has escaped unaltered. But his numbers as they stand in his text are genuine, as appears from Diodorus. The whole series of reigns in Herodotus is this:

	y.
Deioces .....	53
Phraortes .....	22
Cyaxares .....	40
Astyages .....	35
	<hr/> 150
Cyrus .....	29
Cambyses.....	7. 5 <sup>m</sup>
Smerdis .....	0. 7 <sup>m</sup>
Darius .....	36
	<hr/> 73
	223



The last year of Darius ended according to Herodotus in Ol. 73. 3 B. C.  $48\frac{6}{5}$ . The first year of Cyrus will accordingly be in his computation Ol. 55. 2 B. C.  $55\frac{9}{8}$ , and the beginning of the period,  $48\frac{6}{5} + 223 =$  B. C.  $70\frac{9}{8}$ , will be Ol. 17. 4 according to Herodotus, who gives only 29 years to Cyrus, but according to the general concurrence of testimonies, which assign to Cyrus 30 years and place his accession in Ol. 55. 1, the commencement of the period will be at Ol. 17. 3, one year higher than this computation.

Diodorus obtained his date for the beginning of the Median empire according to Herodotus by collecting the numbers which Herodotus supplied in detail; and as Diodorus himself fixed the accession of Cyrus at Ol. 55. 1, he computed the four Median reigns at 151 years, and obtained Ol. 17. 2 for their beginning; an excess of only one year above the numbers in Herodotus.

But not only is the present text consistent with the account of Diodorus, it is also consistent with the true period of the Median independence. For we may collect from Scripture that the Medes were not independent till after the death of Sennacherib. But this king was slain in the beginning of B. C. 711. The Median revolt then did not occur before B. C. 711, and the date B. C.  $7\frac{10}{9}$  Ol. 17. 3 is the true date, and the numbers as they now stand in Herodotus are genuine.

Herodotus indeed implies that some space intervened between the revolt of the Medes and the election of Deioces to be king. But these *anni ἀβασιλευτοι* could not have been prior to the 53 years of Deioces, since the revolt is limited by Scripture to B. C. 711. The series of reigns from Deioces to Xerxes, 223 years, is fixed and limited at both extremes. The first term of the series could not have been earlier than B. C. 711, the last could not have been later than 485. The interregnum then was included in the 53 years of Deioces, and was counted to his reign; nor can we supply an additional six years by supposing an interregnum exclusive of the four reigns.

The term of 156 years, which has caused so much embarrassment, is not expressed in Herodotus. He affirms that the Median dominion lasted 128 years. These 128 years terminated at the defeat of Astyages B. C. 559. They com-



menced then  $559 + 128 = \text{B. C. } 687$  in the 23rd year of the independence of the Medes. He therefore considered this period to begin after the regal government was settled—perhaps after the anni ἀβασίλευτοι had expired ; and to include the last 31 years of the government of Deioces. The Median empire lasted 128 years B. C. 687—560. But we are to exclude from the account a period of 28 years B. C. 634—607 within that interval, during which years the Scythians occupied Asia. The 53 years then of Deioces are divided into two portions, 22 years of his government before he was appointed king, and 31 years after his election.

The acquisition of Media by Cyrus is represented as a forcible seizure not only by Herodotus, but also by Plato, by Aristotle, by Isocrates, Anaximenes, Dinon, Ctesias, Amyntas, Nicolaus of Damascus. It is intimated by Xenophon himself. Strabo (following Anaximenes), Cephalion and Justin agree that Astyages was conquered in war. Plutarch and Polyænus have preserved an account to the same purpose. According to Dinon Cyrus began to reign at the age of 40, reigned 30 years, and died at 70. Herodotus followed other accounts, and reckoned Cyrus younger at his accession ; for he places the birth of Cyrus within the reign of Astyages and relates that Harpagus after the fall of Sardis commanded in Ionia. But if Harpagus had a son older than Cyrus, it is not likely that Cyrus should have been nearly 60 years of age when Harpagus was in the command of an army.

§ 4 The ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY of Ctesias according to Diodorus is as follows. Ninus the first king was succeeded by Semiramis, and she by Ninyas ; who was followed by thirty kings, of whom Sardanapalus was the last. These 33 reigns occupied 1306 years which ended at B. C. 876, giving  $876 + 1306 = \text{B. C. } 2182$  for the beginning of this empire, or 1000 years before the fall of Troy, which produces the same date. This account of the duration of the empire and of the date of its commencement is followed with little variation by many writers. Strabo, Nicolaus Damascenus, Æmilius Sura, Velleius, and Justin adopt the account of Ctesias.

Some narratives varied in some particulars from the account of Ctesias, but agreed with him in assigning a high antiquity

to the Assyrian empire. Abydenus placed the end of this empire 67 years before the first Olympiad, or at B. C. 843. His account agreed with that of Castor, and Castor reckoned 1280 years from Ninus to a second Ninus, successor of Sardanapalus. Cephalion, who flourished in the reign of Hadrian, followed Ctesias in reckoning 42 years to Semiramis, and in some other particulars. But he made Sardanapalus the 26th king and placed his accession (according to Eusebius) in the 1013th year of the empire, throwing back the destruction of the empire by Arbaces about 270 years above the date of Ctesias. Eusebius numbers 36 kings and 1240 years from Ninus to Sardanapalus both inclusive, places the destruction of the empire and its transfer to the Medes 43 years before the first Olympiad, and fixes the period at B. C. 819. Syncellus begins his computation from Belus, reckons 41 reigns and 1460 years, and places the commencement of the period at B. C. 2285 and its termination at 826. His 40 reigns from Ninus to Sardanapalus inclusive occupy 1405 years B. C. 2230—826. These 40 reigns are obtained by interpolating four reigns after the 27th king in Eusebius.

The period delivered by Ctesias seems to have been 1306 years. He placed its commencement 1000 years before the Trojan war and its termination at B. C. 876. But in assigning the termination of the Assyrian monarchy Ctesias and those who followed him confounded two events, the revolt of the Medes and the destruction of Nineveh; which they made to happen together. These two events however were divided by a considerable interval of time, and the conclusion of the term of 1306 years assigned to that monarchy did not occur at the Median revolt but at the final capture of Nineveh. The date of this event we are enabled to fix with precision on the concurrent authority of Scripture and Herodotus.

The overthrow of Nineveh did not happen before the death of Josiah king of Judah in B. C. 609, because a king of Assyria is mentioned at that period; and Zephaniah in the prophecy delivered in the reign of Josiah predicts the destruction of Nineveh as a future event. Jackson has drawn together many testimonies to the same point from the book of Tobit, which have been repeated by Hales. The sum of the argument is this: From the age of Tobit it appears that Nineveh



was standing in B. C. 610. For he became blind in the year 710, and survived that accident 100 years; and yet he died before the fall of Nineveh. The city was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Ahasuerus. Nabuchodonosor may be either the father of Nebuchadnezzar, or Nebuchadnezzar himself acting for his father; and this passage will not determine whether Nineveh was taken before the accession of Nebuchadnezzar. But a prophecy of Jeremiah written in the first year of the captivity B. C. 605 seems to imply that the city was then destroyed; for in the particular enumeration of *all the kings of the north far and near, and all the kingdoms of the world, &c.* Assyria and Nineveh are not named. The testimony of Scripture then decides that the city was captured, and the Assyrian monarchy destroyed, certainly after B. C. 609 and probably before B. C. 605. Herodotus brings the date to a narrower point. Cyaxares prepared to revenge his father's death upon the Assyrians, but was interrupted by the Scythians, who held Asia for 28 years. After their expulsion Cyaxares conquered the Assyrians. But as the Scythians were not expelled till B. C. 607, the capture of Nineveh could not occur till B. C. 606; and this date obtained from Herodotus is remarkably consistent with the accounts of Scripture.

Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus agree in referring the destruction of the city to the father of Nebuchadnezzar, which expresses the true time. But as their accounts of Assyrian affairs differ from that of Ctesias, it will be desirable to examine the narratives of these writers. In the first place Polyhistor differs from Ctesias in his account of the dynasty. According to Ctesias Semiramis was succeeded by 31 generations from father to son; according to Polyhistor the succession was interrupted by a new dynasty. But an account drawn from Berossus of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, which differs altogether from that of Ctesias, is given by Eusebius in the following terms: *A Xisuthro et a diluvio donec Medi Babylonem occuparunt summam regum 86 supputat Polyhistor, singulosque nominatim e Berosi libro recenset. Ex horum autem omnium ceteribus annorum conficit 33,091. Post hos qui successione inconcussa regnum obtinuerant, derepente Medos collectis copiis Babylonem cepisse ait, ibique de suis tyrannos constituisse. Hinc nomina quoque tyrannorum Medorum edisserit*

octo, annosque eorum 224; ac rursus undecim reges et annos 48; tum et Chaldaeos reges 49 annosque 458; postea et Arabes novem reges annosque eorum 245. Horum annorum recensione perscripta, de Samiramide quoque narrat quæ imperavit Assyriis. Rursumque distincte admodum nomina regum 45 enumerat, iisque annos tribuit 526. Post hos ait extitisse Chaldaeorum regem cui nomen Phulus erat, quem Hebræorum quoque historia memorat quemque item Phulum appellat. Hic Judæam invasisse dicitur. Deinde Polyhistor Senecheribum regno potitum esse ait; quem quidem Hebræorum libri regnantem referunt imperante Ezechia et prophetante Isaia. Ait autem diserte divinus liber "Anno 14<sup>o</sup> Ezechiae regis ascendisse Senecheribum ad urbes Judææ munitas."—Et quidem Senecheribum cum ejus filio Asordane necnon Marudacho Baldane Chaldaeorum quoque historiographus memorat; cum quibus etiam Nabuchodonosorum, ut mox dicitur. Hac autem ratione de iis scribit. Postquam regno defunctus est Senecheribi frater, et post Hagisæ in Babylonios dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto 30<sup>o</sup> imperii die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, Marudachus ipse Baldanes tyrannidem invasit mensibus sex, donec eum sustulit vir quidam nomine Elibus, qui et in regnum successit. Hoc postremo annum jam tertium regnante, Senecheribus rex Assyriorum copias adversum Babylonios contrahebat, prælioque cum iis conserto superior evadebat, captumque Elibum cum familiaribus ejus in Assyriam transferri jubebat. Is igitur Babyloniorum potitus filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat, ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat. Mox quum ad ejus aures rumor esset perlatus Græcos in Ciliciam coactis copiis bellum transtulisse, eos protinus aggressus est prælioque inito, multis suorum amissis, hostes nihilominus profligavit; suamque imaginem, ut esset victoriæ monumentum, eo loco erectam reliquit, cui Chaldaicis literis res a se gestas insculpi mandavit.—Tarsum quoque urbem ab eo structam ait ad Babylonis exemplar eidemque nomen inditum Tharsin. Jam et reliquis Senecherimi gestis perscriptis, subdit eum annis vicisse regnantem 18, donec eidem structis a filio Ardumuzane insidiis extinctus est. Hæc Polyhistor. Sane etiam tempora cum narratione divinorum librorum congruunt. Sub Ezechia enim Senecherimus regnavit, uti Polyhistor innuit, annis 18; post quem ejusdem filius annis 8; tum annis 21 Sammughes; itemque hujus frater 21; deinde Nabupalasarus annis 20; de-



*nique Nabucodrossorus 43: ita ut a Senecherimo ad Nabucodrossorum 88 anni excurrant. Jam si quis Hebræorum libros scrutetur, paria dictis inveniet: namque post Ezechiam residuis Judæis Manasses imperat annis 55; deinde Amosus annis 12; tum Josias 31; postea Joachimus; sub cujus regni primordiis occupaturus Hierosolyma Nabuchodonosorus supervenit.—Atqui ab Ezechia ad Nabuchodonosorum anni excurrunt 88, quot nimirum Polyhistor ex historia Chaldaica supputavit. His omnibus absolutis, pergīt denuo Polyhistor res aliquot etiam a Senecheribo gestas exponere, deque hujus filio eadem plane ratione scribit qua libri Hebræorum; accurateque admodum cuncta edisserit. Pythagoras sapiens fertur ea tempestate sub his regibus extitisse. Jam post Sammughen imperavit Chaldæis Sardanapallus 21 annis. Is ad Asdahagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam e filiabus Asdahagis unam. Deinde Nabucodrossorus dominatus est annis 43.*

We will now transcribe the extract from Abydenus: *Abydeni de Senecherimo. His temporibus quintus denique et vigesimus rex fuit Senecheribus, qui Babylonem sibi subdidit, et in Cilicii maris litore classem Græcorum profligatam disjecit. Hic etiam templum Atheniensium struxit, ærea quoque signa facienda curavit in quibus sua facinora traditur inscripsisse. Tarsum denique ea forma qua Babylon utitur condidit.—Proximus huic regnavit Nergilus, quem Adrameles filius occidit. Rursus hunc frater suus Axerdis interfecit patre eodem alia tamen matre genitus; atque Byzantium usque ejus exercitum persecutus est quem antea mercede conduxerat auxiliarem. In hoc miles erat Pythagoras quidam Chaldææ sapientiæ assecla. Ægyptum præterea partesque interiores Syriæ acquirebat Axerdis. Hinc Sardanapallus exortus est. Post quem Saracus imperitabat Assyriis, qui quidem, certior factus turmarum vulgi collectitiarum quæ a mari adversus se adventarent, continuo Busalussorum militiæ ducem Babylonem mittebat. Sed enim hic capto rebellandi consilio Amuhiam Asdahagis Medorum principis filiam nato suo Nabucodrossoro despondebat, moxque raptim contra Ninum seu Ninevem urbem impetum faciebat. Re omni cognita rex Saracus regiam Evoritam inflammabat. Tum vero Nabucodrossorus summæ rerum potitus firmis mœnibus Babylonem cingebat.*

According to these accounts the Babylonian chronology of



Polyhistor, after the fabulous period of 86 kings and 34,090 or 33,091 years, will be this :

		<i>anni</i>	<i>anni</i>
<i>Medi</i> .....	8 .....	224	
<i>reges</i> .....	11 .....	48	
<i>Chaldæi</i> ...	49 .....	458	
<i>Arabes</i> ...	9 .....	245	
		—	975

His Assyrian chronology :

<i>Semiramis et reges</i> 45 .....	526	
<i>Pul</i> .....	—	
<i>Senecherimus</i> .....	18	= B. C. 692
<i>filius</i> .....	8	
<i>Sammughes</i> .....	21	
<i>frater</i> .....	21	
<i>Sardanapallus vel</i> } (21) 20		
<i>Nabopalassar</i> } .....	—	88
<i>Nabucodrossorus vel</i> } .....		
<i>Nabuchodonosorus</i> ... }	43	= B. C. 604

The last Assyrian reigns in Abydenus are thus given :

- 25 *Senecheribus*
- (26) *Nergilus*
- (27) *Adrameles filius*
- (28) *Axerdis frater*
- (29) *Sardanapallus*
- (30) *Saracus*

We may remark the negligence or inconsistency of Eusebius, who supposes the account of Polyhistor to correspond with the account of Scripture because Polyhistor numbers 88 years from the 1st of Sennacherib to the 1st of Nebuchadnezzar. In the first place, Eusebius himself gives 98 years to the three reigns of Manasseh Amon and Josiah, since he reckons the reign of Amon 12 years. And if we restore the right number, two years, to this reign, and obtain 88 years for the three Jewish reigns, still the two accounts are not consistent; for these 88 years carry back the 1st of Sennacherib to the 1st of Manasseh. But Eusebius himself has just admitted that Sennacherib invaded Judea 15 years before the death of Hezekiah: the time therefore of Sennacherib in

Polyhistor, by the account of Eusebius himself, is quite at variance with the time of Sennacherib in Scripture. The true interval between the 14th of Hezekiah B. C. 713, when Sennacherib invaded Judea, and the accession of Nebuchadnezzar B. C. 604, is 109 years. Sennacherib, then, was in the throne at least 22 years before the date of Polyhistor. In the second place, the years ascribed to his reign are incompatible with the true account; for Polyhistor gives him 18 years, but we know that Shalmaneser was yet living in the 6th year of Hezekiah, and that Sennacherib was slain within the 15th of Hezekiah; so that his reign could not have extended beyond nine years by the largest computation. Thirdly, Marudachus Baldanes in Polyhistor reigned for six months before Belibus, whose three years are fixed by the Astronomical Canon at B. C. 702—699. But Merodach Baladan in Scripture was king at the time of the sickness of Hezekiah, whose sickness and miraculous cure were in 713. Again, the father of Nebuchadnezzar is called Nabopolassar and has 20 years, completing the term of 88 years named by Eusebius: and yet in the same page he is called Sardanapallus and has 21 years; nor is any explanation given how the father of Nebuchadnezzar became the successor of the Assyrian kings.

Although Abydenus agrees in some points with Eusebius, yet he differs from him in others. But he still more remarkably differs from himself. In the former extract Abydenus makes Sardanapalus the last king, and places his death at 842; in the present, he describes kings of Assyria at a period two centuries below that date: and Sardanapalus has a successor who is besieged in Nineveh by the father of Nebuchadnezzar. Eusebius has neglected to explain or notice these variations. It is probable that Abydenus in the former passage founded his account upon Ctesias, but that in the other narrative, like Polyhistor, he drew from Berosus.

A comparison of Abydenus and Polyhistor with each other and with Scripture may enable us to trace the truth. Pul king of Assyria (the first king of Assyria named in Scripture) invaded Palestine about the 40th year of Uzziah B. C. 769. He was consequently in the throne 77 years before the Sennacherib of Polyhistor began to reign. Tiglath-pileser was king before the death of Pekah B. C. 738. Before that date

he conquered Syria. About 10 years after this conquest Shalmaneser was in the throne, in the beginning of the reign of Hoshea B. C. 730. He was still living at the capture of Samaria in B. C. 721, and at that time was still master of Media. Eight years after that event Sennacherib is king; and consequently succeeded Shalmaneser some time between 721 and 713; 22 years at least (as we have seen) before the accession of Sennacherib in Polyhistor. He was the son of Shalmaneser; and the conquests of Tiglath-pileser are mentioned among the conquests of his fathers. The death of Sennacherib is determined to the beginning of 711. Many years after, towards the middle of the reign of Manasseh, a king of Assyria is master of Babylon. At a later period than this Nabuchodonosor is king of Assyria; whose accession is determined to 650 (the 48th year of Manasseh), because his 17th year coincided with the last year of Phraortes B. C. 634. At this time Babylon was independent of Assyria. Twenty-eight years after the defeat of Phraortes Nineveh was destroyed in 606, as we have seen from the united evidence of Scripture and Herodotus, by the Medes and Babylonians.

On comparing these testimonies with Polyhistor and Abydenus, we may observe that in neither of their accounts does the Sennacherib whom they describe agree with the Sennacherib of Scripture. The true Sennacherib succeeded his father, reigned a short period, and was slain in 711. Sennacherib in Polyhistor reigns 18 years, succeeds his brother, and recovers Babylon after the death of Belibus, whose three years terminate at 699. Again, Sennacherib is made by both Polyhistor and Abydenus the founder of Tarsus. But this was ascribed by a concurrence of profane accounts to Sardanapalus. It is plain, then, that Abydenus and Polyhistor have confounded Sennacherib with Esarhaddon, and have ascribed to the father the acts which in reality belonged to the son. Esarhaddon began to reign in 711, and his reign, if of 18 years, would extend to 693, and would include the three years of Belibus king of Babylon. Esarhaddon under the name of Sardanapalus lost the Median empire, and under the name of Sardanapalus was commemorated by the Greeks as the founder of Tarsus and Anchiale. By an opposite error both Abydenus and Polyhistor, in speaking of the king of Media,



name the son for the father. For as Aspadas or Astyages began to reign in 595, 10 years after the death of Nabopolassar, the king of Media who reigned in his time, and whose daughter was betrothed to his son, was not Aspadas but Cyaxares.

In Abydenus Sardanapalus appears under his right description as a king of Assyria; and as he is the last but one of the Assyrian kings, he appears to be the same person as Nabuchodonosor of the book of Judith, who began to reign 44 years, and invaded Judea 27 years, before the destruction of Nineveh. And this may have been the cause of the error of Polyhistor, who calls Nabopolassar by the name of Sardanapalus. Nabopolassar was sometimes called Nabuchodonosor, and this similarity of name may have produced the mistake. This error of Polyhistor (whatever was the cause) substituting a Babylonian for an Assyrian reign violates the true chronology in three principal points. First, it brings down the end of that Assyrian reign (which was in reality followed by another king, Saracus) two years below the capture of the city. Secondly, it places the accession of Esarhaddon, whom he calls Sennacherib, at 692; 19 years below the true accession. Thirdly, this date for the accession of Esarhaddon is inconsistent with the time of Belibus. For according to Polyhistor himself Esarhaddon recovered Babylon at the death of this king; but Belibus ceased to reign in 699, seven years before this date for the reign of Esarhaddon.

Those two points being fixed, the accession of Esarhaddon to 711 and the accession of Sardanapalus or Nabuchodonosor to 650, we may perhaps arrange the numbers and the names supplied by Abydenus and Polyhistor in this manner. Esarhaddon (Sennacherib) the 25th king reigned 18 years; which places his death in 693. Between that event and the accession of the 29th king Sardanapalus or Nabuchodonosor are 43 years, occupied by three reigns in both historians, although they differ in the names. But in tracing the identity of Eastern kings the times and the transactions are better guides than the names; for these from many well-known causes (as the changes which they undergo in passing through the Greek language, and the substitution of a title or an epithet for the name) are variously reported, so that the same king frequently

appears under many different appellations. In Adrameles of the one historian we may recognise Sammughes of the other; for in both accounts this prince is succeeded by his brother. The two reigns have 42 years or perhaps 41 complete in Polyhistor; which will leave only two years to Nergilus. But as this king has eight years in Polyhistor, we may reconcile the difficulty and adapt the years to the period by supposing them to include his reign at Babylon, where according to Polyhistor's own account he reigned in the lifetime of his father. This scheme will give the following results. The contemporary Babylonian reigns are added as they stand in the Astronomical Canon; and it will be observed that in some particulars they coincide with the arrangement proposed.

ASSYRIA.			y.	B.C.	BABYLON.			y.	B.C.
(21)	<i>Pul</i> .....	before .....		769	<i>Nabonassar</i> .....	14		747	Feb. 20
(22)	<i>Tiglath-pileser</i> ....	before .....		738	<i>Nadius</i> .....	2		733	
					<i>Chinzirus et Porus</i> ..	5		731	
(23)	<i>Shalmaneser</i> .....			729	<i>Jugæus</i> .....	5		726	
(24)	<i>Sennacherib</i> .....	before .....		713	<i>Mardocempadus</i> .....	12		721	
25	<i>Esarhaddon</i> or <i>Sardanapalus</i> .....		18	711	<i>Archianus</i> .....	5		709	
					Interregnum .....	2		704	
					{ <i>Hagisa</i> 30 <sup>d</sup>				
					{ <i>Marudach Baldanes</i> 6 <sup>m</sup>				
					<i>Belibus</i> .....	3		702	
(26)	<i>Asordanes</i> or <i>Nergilus</i> , at Babylon ..	6	} 8	{ (699)	<i>Apronadius</i> or <i>Asordanes</i>	6		699	
	————— in Assyria ..	2			<i>Regibalus</i> .....	1		693	
					<i>Mesessimordachus</i> .....	4		692	
(27)	<i>Adrameles</i> or <i>Sammughes</i> .....		21	691	Interregnum .....	8		688	
					<i>Asaridinus</i> .....	13		680	
(28)	<i>Averdis frater Sammughis</i> .....	(21)	20	670	<i>Saosduchinus</i> .....	20		667	
(29)	<i>Nabuchodonosor</i> or <i>Sardanapalus</i> ..	(21)	20	650	<i>Chinaladanus</i> .....	22		647	
(30)	<i>Saracus</i> or <i>Ninus II</i> [or <i>Sardanap.</i> ]	(23)	24	(630)	<i>Nabopolassar</i> .....	21		625	Jan. 27
	Nineveh destroyed .....			606	<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> .....	43		604	Jan. 21

That Esarhaddon was the 25th king is known from Abydenus. Hence the other reigns are determined. If Esarhaddon was the 25th, Pul was the 21st and Saracus the 30th king. The first five of these kings and their times, down to the accession of Esarhaddon in the beginning of 711, are fixed upon undoubted authority. The years of the reigns of the 27th 28th and 29th kings are given from Berosus by Polyhistor. The period of the two last reigns is limited to 44 years upon sufficient evidence; but if the first of these had 21 or 20 years

(which is ascertained from Polyhistor), there remain 23 or 24 for the last king Saracus.

It appears from Alexander Polyhistor and the Astronomical Canon that Babylon had always kings of her own from the earliest times. These kings were sometimes subjected to the Assyrians and sometimes independent; but they never acquired extensive dominion till the time of Nebuchadnezzar. In the period described in this Table *Nabonassar* was independent. His successors were perhaps independent down to Hagisa and Marudachus Baldanes who reigned during the interregnum, and who are not marked in the Canon because each reigned less than a year. In their successor Belibus, both in the name and the duration of his reign, Polyhistor and the Canon agree. The next king Apronadius appears on a comparison of the two historians with the Canon to be no other than the son of Esarhaddon the Sennacherib of the two historians, the 25th king of Assyria, who conquered Babylon. During this period B. C. 699—693, while Esarhaddon was master of Babylon, the colony was planted in Samaria described in the following passage: *And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon and from Cuthah and from Ava and from Hamath and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria and dwelt in the cities thereof.* Ascribed to Esarhaddon by Ezra. In the same year in which the 26th king began to reign in Assyria, we find a new reign also at Babylon; and may conjecture that this city became independent again upon the death of its conqueror. The interregnum of eight years, which shortly follows, marks a period of trouble; probably many kings arose within that period, whose names are not in the Canon because none of them reigned a year. At about this period, then, the king of Assyria who captured Manasseh (either the 27th or the 28th king in Abydenus) acquired Babylon again.

Polyhistor from Berosus describes a term of 526 years which ended at the accession of Pul. And Pul is the predecessor of Sennacherib. Eusebius understands Pul to be the king so named in Scripture. But this is very uncertain. Between Pul and Sennacherib came two other kings. We have seen that *Sennacherib* in Polyhistor was in reality *Esar-*



*haddon*, and that by an error in mistaking an Assyrian for a Babylonian king he was placed at a date 22 years below the time of Sennacherib and 19 years below the accession of *Esarhaddon*. It is extremely uncertain, then, what king is described in Polyhistor under the name of Pul. The period, however, of 526 years terminates at this reign. Sennacherib is placed in Polyhistor (as we have seen) at 692. To Pul no years are assigned. But if we assume 19 or 20 years for this reign, we shall have B. C. 712 or 711 for the termination of that period of 526 years. The coincidence of this account both in the number and the date with that of Herodotus leaves little doubt that in this term of 526 years ending about B.C. 711 was expressed by Berosus the period of the Assyrian empire, called by Herodotus 520 years, and terminating at 711; and that Berosus gave the exact term of that empire, Herodotus the term in round numbers. The precise date of its termination B. C. 711 is given by Scripture, with which Herodotus agrees; and we accordingly obtain  $711 + 526 =$  B. C. 1237 for the commencement. Polyhistor reckons 45 kings in this period. According to which account Pul would be the 46th and Sennacherib the 47th. But Abydenus, who also seems to follow Berosus, calls *Sennacherib* the 25th king, which would leave 24 reigns for the preceding period. *Esarhaddon*, then, whom they called Sennacherib, had 24 predecessors instead of 46. And this seems to be the true number, for  $24 \times 22 = 528$  would give 22 years to each king, about the average proportion of reigns. And we may collect from all these particulars compared that the Assyrian empire commencing B. C. 1237 subsisted 526 years under a dynasty of 24 kings; that under *Esarhaddon* the 25th king the empire was lost, but that the Assyrian monarchy was continued under six kings for a farther term of 105 years; and that it terminated with the 30th king in B. C. 606. Ctesias in his period of 1306 years had confounded the Assyrian empire with the Assyrian monarchy, and had assigned to this monarchy a date considerably too high. But as the monarchy ended in 606, and the empire in 711, we have B. C. 1912 for the commencement of his period of 1306 years; and this period B. C. 1912—606 includes within it the 526 years of the empire. The period of 1306 years may possibly have been a genuine

period, but it is a false account that the period began and ended where Ctesias has placed it; and a false account that it was occupied by only 33 or 36 reigns.

Polyhistor gives 975 years as the interval between the Median conquest of Babylon and the commencement of the Assyrian empire of 526 years. This would give  $1237 + 975 =$  B. C. 2212 as the date of that Median conquest. Niebuhr, remarking that the observations sent by Callisthenes to Aristotle from Babylon went back 1903 years before the time of Alexander, that the beginning of this period nearly coincides with the date assigned by Berosus to the taking of Babylon by the Medes, and that this series of observations probably went back to some great political epoch (as the era of Nabonassar was the commencement of a later and more accurate series), concludes that the capture of Babylon by the Medes is to be placed 1903 years before the time of Alexander. This appeared probable as the text of Simplicius then stood, and would have placed that epoch at B. C. 2233, only 21 years above the date obtained from Polyhistor, whose period for the times before the Assyrian empire would be extended by this addition from 975 to 996 years. But the genuine text of Simplicius, which is quoted in the third volume of the *Fasti Hellenici* c. 12 N° 63, attests that no such number as 1903 was reported in that passage, and we may retain the numbers of Polyhistor unaltered, as they stand in the following Table :

[Ninus B. C. 2182]			y.	B. C.
Assyrian monarchy 1306	}	y.	675	1912
years, before the empire				
During the empire 24 kings			526	1237
[Sardanap. B. C. 876]				
After the empire 6 kings			105	711
			1306	
Capture of Nineveh				606
Conquest of Babylon by the Medes : 8 Median kings				
			224	2212
Eleven kings			43	1988
49 Chaldæans			458	1940
9 Arabians			245	1482
Ended			1237	
			975	

The Assyrian empire had not yet extended over Asia at the time of the Exode of the Israelites, when many independent kings are mentioned, nor at the time of the first Servitude, when an independent king reigned in Mesopotamia. Down therefore to B. C. 1550 Mesopotamia was not subject

to the Assyrians. These facts confirm Herodotus and Polyhistor, and refute those who, following Ctesias, have supposed the empire of Asia to have been acquired by the Assyrians 1300 years before the end of their monarchy. And, although Plato supposed the kingdom of Priam to be within the authority of the Assyrians, it is probable that the Assyrian empire within that period of 526 years was principally confined to the Upper Asia, and not extended far to the westward. We know that Syria was a powerful and independent kingdom from the time of Ahab to the time of Joash,—about B. C. 915—845; and that the Assyrians did not acquire dominion in Syria till after B. C. 769, less than 60 years before the independence of the Medes. Herodotus then accurately limits the Assyrian dominion to the Upper Asia. Dionysius of Halicarnassus follows Herodotus in ascribing a limited dominion to the Assyrians.

In the fabulous account of Ctesias Ninus 1000 years before the Trojan war conquers with the help of the Arabians Babylonia, Armenia, Media, Egypt, Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Asia Minor, Hyrcania, Carmania, Persis, Susiana—all these in 17 years; then after building Nineveh he conquers Bactriana, whose king according to Justin was Zoroaster. After the death of Ninus, Semiramis founded Babylon. Ctesias has here ascribed to one person the acts of many. Babylon was really conquered about 30 years before the date of Ctesias, but it was conquered by the Medes, and Zoroaster was the first Median king of Babylon. We may place the conquest of Bactriana and Media 1000 years after the supposed time of Ninus. Phœnicia Syria and the adjacent countries were not subdued till 1400 years after the epoch of Ctesias. The Western and Southern countries of Asia Minor were probably never subjected at all till the time of Esarhaddon and his successors, who pushed their conquests in that direction when they were excluded from the Upper Asia by the Medes<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The date of Polyhistor for the capture of Babylon by the Medes, B.C. 2212, places that event at the distance of 270 years from the flood and 82 before the birth of Abraham, instead of

250 years from the flood and 100 before Abraham, which was the epoch produced by the supposed numbers of Calisthenes. See F. H. I p. 296.



§ 5 SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

Our knowledge of the time which had passed before the birth of Abraham is derived from two passages of Genesis in which the years of the antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs are recorded. In the antediluvian patriarchs the age of each at the birth of his son is stated in the Hebrew copy in the following manner :

1 Adam .....	130
2 Seth.....	105
3 Enos .....	90
4 Cainan .....	70
5 Mahalaleel .....	65
6 Jared .....	162
7 Enoch .....	65
8 Methuselah .....	187
9 Lamech .....	182
10 Noah .....	600
<hr/>	
1656	

The generations after the Flood stand thus in the Hebrew text :

11 Shem (100) .....	2
12 Arphaxad .....	35
13 Salah.....	30
14 Heber .....	34
15 Peleg .....	30
16 Reu .....	32
17 Serug.....	30
18 Nahor .....	29
19 Terah .....	70
<hr/>	
20 to <i>Abraham</i> .....	292

But this amount is to be enlarged when the true time of the birth of Abraham is taken into the account. Abraham was supposed by many interpreters to be the eldest son of his father, and his birth was placed at the 70th year and his Call at the 145th year of Terah. But Usher has shewn the error of this opinion and has proved that the birth of Abraham is determined by the narrative of Moses to the 130th year of

Terah. The proof is easy and complete. Abraham removed to Canaan after his father's death; and at the time of his migration was 75 years old. But  $205 - 75 = 130$ . Usher accordingly observes "Now when Therah had lived 70 years "there was born unto him the eldest of his three sons, and "he not Abraham, who came not into the world till 60 years "after, but Haran. Moreover Sarai who was also called "Iscah, the daughter of Haran Abram's brother, was only "10 years younger than her husband." And this confirms the fact that Haran was 60 years older than Abraham<sup>a</sup>. The erroneous date for the birth of Abraham placed the Call 60 years before the death of his father, which is contrary to Gen. XI. 32 XII. 1. 4.

Abram is named first in Gen. XI. 26. 27 on account of his superior importance; as in Gen. VI. 10 IX. 18 X. 1 Shem is named first, although Japheth was the elder brother: Gen. X. 2. 21. That the destined father of the faithful should be a younger son can create no difficulty; for the preference of the younger to the elder was so frequent that it almost seems the rule. Thus Shem was the younger brother, Isaac the younger brother, Jacob the younger brother, Moses himself the younger brother. Judah from whom the royal line was to descend was the third son, David the youngest son of his father.

We are therefore to add 60 years to the preceding numbers, and we obtain  $292 + 60 = 352$  years for the interval from the flood to the birth of Abraham. The space of 545 years from the birth of Abraham to the death of Moses is clearly marked in Scripture. The interval from the Call to the Exode is declared to be 430 years: *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years. And it came to pass at the end of the 430 years, even the self-same day it came to pass that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt.* That these 430 years are to be computed from the Call of Abraham and not from the going down of Israel into

<sup>a</sup> Josephus Ant. I. 7, 1 also interprets Genesis that *Sarah* was the niece of Abraham and not his sister: Λῶτον τὸν Ἀράνου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ υἱὸν τῆς δὲ γυναίκος αὐτοῦ Σάρρας ἀδελφόν. I. 12, 1 ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἶναι παῖδα.

Such expressions as "the daughter"

for "the granddaughter" are found in other texts, as Gen. XXIV. 48 *a daughter* for *a granddaughter*. Gen. XXIX. 12 *a nephew* is called *a brother*. XXIX. 5 *son* for *grandson*. XXXVI. 13—18 *sons* for *grandsons*.

Egypt is explained by St. Paul himself. And the interpretation of Josephus in one place agrees with the explanation of St. Paul. Demetrius agrees in the same interpretation ; for he reckons 215 years from the Call to the going down into Egypt, and 135 years from this last epoch to the birth of Moses. Eusebius also rightly collects 505 years from the birth of Abraham to the Exode. That this interpretation of the 430 years is accurate is demonstrated by the circumstances. For, if the space from the descent into Egypt to the 80th year of Moses had been 430 years, there would have been 350 years from the going into Egypt to his birth. But the mother of Moses was a daughter of Levi, who lived in Egypt 88 years; and, if 350 years had intervened between the descent into Egypt and the birth of Moses, his mother would have borne him 262 years after her father's death. Again, as Kohath was born before the descent into Egypt, these 350 years would have been occupied by two generations, Kohath and Amram. But this was not possible, because Kohath lived only 133 years, and Amram 137. The other text of Genesis, repeated in the Acts, which limits their stay in Egypt to the fourth generation, confirms the preceding account. *And he said to Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them ; and they shall afflict them 400 years. But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again ; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full.* In the Acts this passage is quoted. But St. Stephen does not affirm that the Israelites were 400 years in Egypt any farther than this text affirms it. And this text does not affirm it, because it limits their stay to the fourth generation, and the ages of these four generations are delivered by Moses himself, the last of the four. It is plain then that the 400 years in round numbers include the stay in Canaan. Theophilus then and all those who ascribe the 430 years to the sojourning in Egypt, and who compute 760 years from the birth of Abraham to the death of Moses, are refuted by these facts. And these facts shew that some modern writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how the period of 430 years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to Moses an inspired writer (in the account of



his mother and father and grandfather) that authority which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion.

The dates in this period ascertained in Scripture are the following, reckoned from the birth of Abraham :

	Birth of Abraham in the 130th year of <i>Terah</i> .
10	Birth of Sarah.
75	The Call.
86	Birth of Ishmael.
99	The promise renewed.
100	Birth of Isaac.
137	Death of Sarah æt. 127.
140	Marriage of Isaac æt. 40.
160	Birth of Esau and Jacob, Isaac being 60 years of age.
175	Death of Abraham æt. 175.
200	First marriage of Esau æt. 40.
223	Death of Ishmael æt. 137.
237	Jacob æt. 77 goes to Charran.
(241)	Birth of Levi.
251	Birth of Joseph.
257	Jacob æt. 97 returns to Canaan after 20 years' service.
268	Joseph æt. 17 sold into Egypt.
280	Death of Isaac æt. 180.
281	Joseph æt. 30 governor of Egypt.
289	Birth of Kohath, at least before the descent into Egypt.
290	Jacob æt. 130 goes into Egypt.
307	Death of Jacob æt. 147.
360	Death of Joseph æt. 110.
(378)	Death of Levi æt. 137.
422	Death of Kohath æt. 133.
425	Birth of Moses 80 years before the exode.
465	Moses æt. 40 fled to Midian.
505	The Exodus 430 years after the Call, Moses being 80, Aaron 83.
545	Death of Miriam in the first month of the 40th year, of Aaron æt. 123, of Moses æt. 120, in the 11th month of the 40th year. Miriam was at least 10 years older than Moses; which would place her birth about the year 415, when 37 years had passed from the death of <i>Levi</i> .

The two generations between Levi and Moses are variously divided by chronologers, but as the sacred historian, the sole

authority, is silent, the precise years of the birth and death of Amram cannot be known.

After the death of Moses a chasm occurs in the Scripture chronology. We are not informed what was the duration of the government of Joshua and the Elders and of the interregnum or anarchy which followed. Josephus makes this period 43 years, computing

	y.
To the division of the lands .....	5
To the death of Joshua .....	20
Interregnum or anarchy .....	18
	—43

The notices in Scripture shew that this period was not very long. The division was 45 years after the second year from the Exode. When Caleb was 85 years old. The time of the anarchy included *all the days of the elders who overlived Joshua* and lasted *till all that generation were gathered to their fathers and there arose another generation which knew not the Lord.* Caleb and Joshua might be both the same age, about 40 at the Exode; which would bring the death of Joshua to the 30th year after the death of Moses. Although the anarchy lasted till the elders who overlived Joshua were dead, yet Othniel, who was a military leader in the sixth year after the death of Moses, survived the anarchy 48 years. And Phineas was priest during the anarchy, who was at least 20 years of age in the last year of Moses, when the priesthood was promised to his posterity. His father Eleazar died soon after the death of Joshua. The interval then between the death of Moses and the first servitude may be pretty accurately filled although the years will be assigned upon conjecture and not upon testimony.

From the first servitude to the death of Samson the years are clearly expressed in Scripture.

	y.
1 Servit. Mesopot. ....	8
<i>Othniel</i> .....	40
2 Servit. Moab .....	18
<i>Ehud</i> .....	80
<i>Shamgar</i>	
3 Servit. Canaan .....	20

	y.
<i>Deborah</i> and <i>Barak</i> ...	40
4 Servit. Midian .....	7
<i>Gideon</i> .....	40
<i>Abimelech</i> .....	3
<i>Tola</i> .....	23
<i>Jair</i> .....	22
5 Servit. Ammon .....	18
<i>Jephthah</i> .....	6
<i>Ibzan</i> .....	7
<i>Elon</i> .....	10
<i>Abdon</i> .....	8
6 Servit. Philist.	40
<i>Samson</i> .....	{ 20
	{ 20
	<hr/>
	390

The years of Samson are expressly included in the last Servitude. *He judged Israel in the days of the Philistines 20 years.* Those who reckon the years of *Samson* exclusive of the 40 enlarge the period to 410 years, contrary to the authority of Scripture.

We then arrive at a second chasm between the death of Samson and the election of Saul. In this interval occurred the government of Eli, the abode of the ark at Kirjath-jearim, and the government of Samuel. Scripture supplies 20y 7<sup>m</sup> for the absence of the ark after the death of Eli, and assigns some years to the government of Samuel between the death of Eli and the election of Saul. *The child Samuel grew before the Lord—when Eli was very old and heard all that his sons did unto all Israel.* He began therefore to prophesy towards the end of the life of Eli. But he was old before the election of Saul. The 20 years of the ark at Kirjath-jearim were not the whole period of its abode there. It remained till the reign of David, who removed it. The 20 years then denote the time which preceded the government of Samuel. After these 20 years he *gathered Israel to Mizpeh and judged them in Mizpeh.* Thirty-two years then are not too much to be assumed between the death of Eli and the election of Saul; a space within which Samuel, who was young at the death of Eli, became old,



and had sons grown up and exercising the government. The authority however of Scripture is not positive for the insertion of the 40 years of Eli. Some modern chronologers, who contract these times within the 480 years, make the years of Eli conumerary with the 6th servitude. Thus Usher makes Eli and Samson contemporary: Eli succeeded Abdon, and the death of Eli was one year later than the death of Samson. Du Fresnoy adopts a similar arrangement, and places the death of Samson one year later than the death of Eli. Josephus, however, makes the years of Eli subsequent to the years of Samson. Theophilus, Clemens, Africanus, Cyril, the Paschal Chronicle, also reckon the years of Eli distinct from the years of Samson. Even the Jewish chronology, which limited the space from the exode to the temple to 480 years, yet computed the 40 years of Eli as following the death of Samson. And the tenour of the history seems to require it. Samson is twice mentioned as judge for 20 years. Of Eli it is said, *And he had judged Israel 40 years.* These governments could scarcely have been contemporary, for they were exercised in the same part of the country. Eli's station was at Shiloh, in Benjamin; on the borders of Benjamin; near the border of the Philistines. Samson's station was at Zora, between Zora and Eshtaol; in the camp of Dan; in the border of Judah, or in Judah; or the country of the Philistines. Eli, then, and Samson both governed in the part to the west of Jordan and the south of Samaria. It is expressly marked that Samson governed *in the days of the Philistines*; during the 40 years of the 6th servitude. This is marked nowhere else and in no other judge; but the contrary is plainly declared in the case of all of them in detail, and in the general summary it is clearly specified that the first five servitudes were not included in the governments of the judges.

This second break therefore is variously supplied by conjecture. Josephus makes it 52 years, reckoning 40 years to Eli and 12 to Samuel. The Jewish chronology followed by Eusebius computed 40 years, and included Samuel in the years of Saul. Africanus seems to have made the interval 148 years; the Paschal Chronicle 100; Syncellus 80; Hales 72. Usher, who omits the years of Eli, computes 21 years between the death of Eli and the election of Saul. Theophilus

has 63 years. Those, who, with Usher the Paschal Chronicle and Syncellus, limit the space between Eli and Saul to 21 or 20 years, are at variance with the accounts of Scripture; for this arrangement would give to Samuel, who began to prophesy while a child towards the end of the life of Eli, about  $22 + 21 = 43$  years for his age at the election of Saul. But these are too few for the description. The 12 years in Josephus and Theophilus, and 9 years in Clemens, are still more erroneous.

The years of the reign of Saul are not mentioned in the Old Testament, but in the Acts his reign is attested to have been 40 years. Josephus distinctly ascribes 40 years to Saul. He elsewhere states the sum of the regal government, including the reign of Saul, to have been 514 years. But as the other reigns, from David to Zedekiah inclusive, amount in Josephus to 473 $\frac{1}{2}$  6 $\frac{1}{2}$  20 $\frac{1}{2}$ , this will leave  $514 - 474 = 40$  years to Saul.

The period, then, from the exode to the temple is embarrassed by those two chasms in the dates of the sacred narrative, and is variously delivered by chronologers.

St. Paul gives the outline of the period :

	<i>y.</i>
Forty years in the wilderness .....	40
The division of the lands (in the 6th year).....	6
The judges to <i>Samuel</i> , or the whole time between the division of the lands and <i>Samuel</i> the prophet	} 450
Administration of <i>Samuel</i> (no years) .....	
<i>Saul</i> .....	40
	<hr/>
	536
Add <i>David</i> .....	40
<i>Solomon</i> .....	3
	} 43
	<hr/>
	579

We have the authority, then, of St. Paul for 579 years exclusive of the years of Samuel. The 450 years of the Apostle commence at the division of the lands in the 47th year after the exode. But it is not clear when they terminate; whether at the call of the child Samuel in the last years of Eli, or whether at the administration of Samuel after the death of Eli. Now as we have seen already that there were 430 years from the first servitude inclusive to the death of Eli, if these 450 years terminate at that point, they will leave 20 years for Joshua

and the elders, and, 32 years being assumed between Eli and Saul, the whole period will be 611 or 612 years. Hales supposes the period of the Apostle to end at the call of the child Samuel, which he assumes to be 10 years before the death of Eli. This arrangement throws back the division of the lands 10 years higher, allows 30 years for Joshua and the elders, and enlarges the whole period to 621 years. I think that the other interpretation is the most probable, and that the 450 years extended to the death of Eli.

The period, then, from the exode to the temple, founded on the testimony of St. Paul and on the Old Testament narrative, fluctuates between the 600 years of Eusebius and 628 years arising out of the corrected numbers of Josephus. The truth lies somewhere between these points. We may assume 612 years as the most probable; which will give 27 years to one of the two undefined periods and 32 years to the other. The rest of the outline, 40 years of Moses, 390 years for the judges, 40 for Eli, and 83 for Saul David and Solomon, is supplied by the testimony of Scripture. If any should object that 27 years are too short a space for Joshua and the elders, it may be answered, first, the terms of the Apostle, *ὡς ἔτεσιν ἢ*, expressing round numbers, do not fix the amount to a single year, and would be equally true if there were five or six years more than that number. Secondly, the 390 years of the judges are composed of 17 periods; and it is not at all likely that all these were complete years without a deficiency. Many of them might be current years, wanting some months of the complete period; as in the kings many reigns wanted some months to complete the years expressed. And as the first 98 years in the kings of Israel were in reality no more than 93 years, so the 390 years of the judges might be in reality only 384 or 385. The 450 years, then, of the Apostle, commencing at the 47th year from the exode and ending at the death of Eli, might contain 25 or 30 years of that undefined period which preceded the first servitude.

This extended term of 612 years is inconsistent with the date in the book of Kings, which reckons the foundation of the temple in the 4th year of Solomon to be *in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt*. But the computation of St. Paul delivered in a solemn argu-



ment before a Jewish audience, and confirmed by the whole tenour of the history in the book of Judges, outweighs the authority of that date; and we may agree with Jackson and Hales in rejecting it. A term of 300 years mentioned by Jephthah, which commenced at the 39th year from the exode and terminated at his own time, may be reconciled with the 612 years, if we understand it in round numbers. The actual period to the election of Jephthah would be 347 years; which might here be called 300, as the term 430 years is on another occasion called 400 years.

The kings of Judah, from Rehoboam to Zedekiah both inclusive, reigned 393½ 6<sup>m</sup> according to the current years marked in Scripture, but 389½ 1<sup>m</sup> in actual computation. This space may be divided into five periods. The first period extends to the accession of Athaliah and Jehu; the second to the death of Amaziah; the third to the 6th year of Hezekiah and 9th of Hoshea; the fourth to the death of Josiah; and the fifth to the destruction of the temple.

The reigns of Rehoboam and Jeroboam began in the same year. The reigns of Athaliah and Jehu also began together. The first six reigns therefore in Judah were equal to the first eight in Israel. "But," Hales remarks, "it appears that the six of Judah amount to 95 years, and the eight of Israel to 98. Consequently three years must be retrenched from the latter, to reduce them to an equality with the former." Accordingly he "subtracts one year from each of the reigns of Baasha Ela and Omri, which are thereby reduced from current to complete years. And this reduction is warranted by the correspondences; for Baasha began to reign in the 3rd of Asa, and Elah in the 26th of Asa; which gives Baasha 23 years complete. Elah was slain in the 27th of Asa. He reigned therefore only one year complete, and Zimri and Omri reigned in succession from the 27th to the 38th of Asa, or only 11 years complete." All this is very manifest. But for similar reasons we must deduct two years from the 95 of Judah, which were only 93. For the collected reigns of Jehosaphat and Jehoram were in reality only 31 years complete instead of 33.

Some dates within this period require notice. 1 The "36th of Asa." This is examined in the following Table at B. C. 941.

2 Forty-two years for the age of Ahaziah are wrong on account of another passage, where it is given "22 years;" and on account of the age of his father, who died at 40. 3 For the "17th of Jehosaphat" see the Table at the year 896. 4 The "18th of Jehosaphat was the 1st of Joram." This is evidently impossible; for between the accession of Jehosaphat and the accession of Joram son of Ahab are 18 years complete of Ahab and two years of Ahaziah. 5 For the "2nd of Jehoram" see the Table at 895. 6 The phrase "Jehosaphat being then king of Judah" we may perhaps explain thus: Jehoram began to reign while his father was yet living (as in the accession of Solomon), and Jehosaphat died at the commencement of the 25th year, which is therefore the 1st of Jehoram.

In the second period are three reigns and a space of 75 years, from the accession of Athaliah to the death of Amaziah, and the corresponding reigns in Israel give the same amount. Within this period the "37th of Joash" is inconsistent with the other dates. Usher here again solves the difficulty by supposing the son to be taken into consortship with the father. For this, however, there is no authority; and, if this had been so, the 16 years of Jehoash would still have been sole years and distinct from the years of his father's reign. The Septuagint, however, has the "39th year;" which might be the true reading.

In the third period the only difficulty consists in adjusting the reign of Jeroboam II to the corresponding reigns in Judah; and the question to be decided is this, whether the death of Amaziah was followed by an interregnum of 12 years in Judah and the death of Jeroboam II by an interregnum of 23 years in Israel, or whether there was no interregnum after Amaziah and only 11 years' interregnum after the death of Jeroboam. Hales argues for the double interregnum in the following manner: "Jeroboam II began to reign in the 15th year of Amaziah, and reigned 41 years. He died therefore in the 16th of Uzziah. But Zachariah his son succeeded him in the 38th of Uzziah; consequently the interregnum in Israel lasted  $38 - 16 = 22$  years. Amaziah survived Joash 15 years. He died therefore in the 16th of Jeroboam. But Uzziah did not begin to reign till the 27th of Jeroboam;





<i>Amon</i> was 16	} at the birth of	{	<i>Josiah</i>
<i>Josiah</i> .....14			<i>Eliakim</i>
<i>Eliakim</i> ...18			<i>Jeconias</i>

We may assume that Amon was 22 complete and Josiah 8 complete at their respective accessions; and that Eliakim was only entering his 25th year and Jeconias commencing his 18th. This will lessen the difficulty. Josiah might be 15 at the birth of his son.

The amount of the fifth period from the death of Josiah to the destruction of the temple is determined by Usher to about 22y 0m 25<sup>d</sup>. In this period the positions of all the preceding epochs are first ascertained, by measuring the dates of Scripture with profane testimony. The fourth year of Jehoiakim was still current 70 years before the 1st of Cyrus (according to Scripture reckoning) at Babylon. We are enabled, however, to bring Scripture and profane accounts to a still nearer coincidence, by comparing the history of Zedekiah and Jehoiakin with the dates assigned to the Babylonian kings by the Astronomical Canon.

The 37th year of Jehoiakin's captivity in the 25th day of the 12th month fell within the 1st year of Evil-Merodach. This 25th day of the 12th month was in reference to the months of the Hebrew year, and marked the month of February. But as the 1st of Evil-Merodach was dated from Jan. 11 B. C. 561, this would be February 561. And as Zedekiah began to reign about June, the captivity of Jehoiakin necessarily commenced in June, and consequently his 37th year in June 562, since it was still current in February following. But if his 37th year commenced in June 562, his captivity is fixed to June B. C. 598; the 11th year of Zedekiah was completed in June 587, and the month *Ab*, in which the temple was destroyed, was in July 587: which refutes the date of Usher, B. C. 588, for the burning of the temple, because, if this event had occurred in that year, the 37th of Jehoiakin's captivity would have commenced in June 563, and the 12th month and 25th day would have fallen in February 562, before the accession of Evil-Merodach. Again, it refutes the date of Jackson and Hales, B. C. 586, because in that case the 37th year would have commenced in June 561, and February of that 37th year would have fallen in

560, which would rather belong to the second year of Evil-Merodach.

The captivity of Zedekiah being determined to June 587, the accession of *Rehoboam*, 389y 1<sup>m</sup> before, is fixed to May 976; and we ascend from thence to the dates of all the preceding epochs, as exhibited in the following Table.

B. C.	A. M.	y.
[4138]		<i>Adam</i> ..... 1656
[2482]	1656	The Deluge ..... 352
[2130]	2008	Birth of <i>Abraham</i> ..... 75
[2055]	2083	The Call ..... 430
[1625]	2513	The Exode ..... 40
[1585]	2553	Death of <i>Moses</i> ..... [27]
[1558]	[2580]	First Servitude ..... 430
[1128]	[3010]	Death of <i>Eli</i> ..... [32]
1096	[3042]	Election of <i>Saul</i> (May or June) 40
1056	[3082]	<i>David</i> (40y 6 <sup>m</sup> ) ..... 40
1016	[3122]	<i>Solomon</i> (39y 6 <sup>m</sup> ) ..... 40
976	[3162]	<i>Rehoboam</i> (May) ..... 389y 1 <sup>m</sup>

B.C.	y.	Rehoboam æt. 41. 17 years.
976	1	Jeroboam 22 years. The accession of Rehoboam was prior to that of Jeroboam. Hence the 1st of Jeroboam was conumerary partly with the 1st and partly with the 2nd of Rehoboam, and so successively. The 2nd of Asa commenced before the 21st of Jeroboam was ended, and the 1st of Nadab before the 2nd of Asa was ended. Hence it follows that the 22nd of Jeroboam was not complete. The 1st again of Baasha commenced before the 3rd of Asa was ended, which shews that the 2 years of Nadab were not complete. These two first reigns in Israel, instead of being 24 years, were less than 23.
974	3	Three years of good conduct.
972	5	Invasion of Shishak, 5th Rehoboam.
959	18	Abijah 3 years. 18th Jeroboam. The 18th of Jerob. conumerary with the 1st and 2nd of Abijah.
957	20	The 20th of Jerob. conumerary with 3rd of Abijah and 1st of Asa.
956	21	Asa 41 years before the 20th of Jerob. was ended.

955	22	The 2nd of Asa conumerary with the 22nd of Jeroboam and the 1st of Nadab. Nadab 2 y. 2nd of Asa.
954	23	The 3rd of Asa conumerary with 2nd of Nadab and 1st of Baasha.
953	24	Baasha 24 y. in the 3rd of Asa.
947	30	The 10th of Asa. Tenth year of peace. After these years the Ethiopian war followed. The spoil which was offered in the 15th of Asa in the 3rd month seems to be part of the spoil taken from the Ethiopians, which would fix the victory of Asa to about his 14th year. After this victory Judah had rest, and no more war (that is, with the Ethiopians,) till the 35th of Asa. The Ethiopian war was followed by a league with Ben-Hadad made in the 16th of Asa and 36th of the Jewish kingdom, or in his 26th year, a little before the death of Baasha. See 941.
942	35	Covenant with God in the 15th of Asa.
941	36	(Asa's league with Ben-Hadad son of Tahrimon son of Hezion king of Syria in the 36th year of the reign of Asa, when he was threatened with war by Baasha. As in the 36th of Asa Baasha was dead, we must either correct the numbers "26th" and place these transactions in the year of the death of Baasha, or we must understand them (with most commentators) to mean the 36th year of the kingdom of Judah; which would place the league with Ben-Hadad in the 16th year of Asa.)
931	46	The 26th of Asa reached the 1st of Elah. The 24th of Baasha. Elah 2 y. 26th of Asa.
930	47	The 27th of Asa conumerary with the 2nd of Elah and the 1st of Omri in Tirzah. Elah slain in the 27th of Asa. Zimri 7 days in the 27th of Asa. Omri 12 years.
926	51	The 31st of Asa marks the foundation of Samaria by Omri, which was accordingly begun in the 5th year of his reign. He reigned in Tirzah till the 6th year.
922	55	The 35th of Asa. <i>And there was no more war</i> (after the defeat of the Ethiopians about the 14th of Asa) <i>until the 35th of Asa.</i> This appears to mean war with the Ethiopians, with whom therefore in the 35th year war was renewed.



919	58	<p>The 38th of Asa conum. with the 1st of Ahab, who began to reign before the 38th of Asa was ended. Hence it appears that the 12th of Omri was not complete; for, since the 27th of Asa had commenced before the death of Elah (see 930), it is evident that the 38th of Asa had commenced before the 11th of Omri was concluded.</p> <p>Ahab 22 y. 38th of Asa. Consequently from the accession of Jeroboam to the accession of Ahab were not quite 58 years. But the reigns in Israel are <math>22 + 2 + 24 + 2 + 12 = 62</math> years. Whence it is manifest that these reigns were of <i>current</i> years and not <i>complete</i>, and that more than 4 years are to be deducted from their amount.</p>
918	59	<p>Asa's disease in his 39th year.</p> <p>The 2nd of Ahab commenced in the 39th of Asa.</p>
916	61	<p>Death of Asa in the 41st year of his reign.</p> <p>The 4th of Ahab contemporary with the 41st of Asa and 1st of Jehoshaphat.</p>
915	62	<p>Jehoshaphat 25 y. at. 35 in the 4th of Ahab. The reigns of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, which were <math>25 + 8 = 33</math> years current, were only <math>24 + 7 = 31</math> complete; for Ahab began to reign in the 38th of Asa and Jehoshaphat in the 4th of Ahab. But the 5th of Joram was the 1st of Jehoram and the 11th of Joram was the last year of Jehoram. Between the accession then of Jehoshaphat and the death of Jehoram his son are 18 years of Ahab, 2 of Ahaziah, and 11 of Joram; making 31 years complete instead of 33.</p>
913	64	<p>Book of the Law read in the 3rd of Jehoshaphat.</p> <p>The 7th of Ahab conumerary partly with the 3rd and partly with the 4th of Jehoshaphat.</p>
898	79	<p>Jehoshaphat goes out with Ahab against Ben-Hadad king of Syria, at the close of his 18th year.</p> <p>Ahab slain in battle by the Syrians. His 22nd year would be completed in the 19th of Jehoshaphat.</p>
896	80	<p>The 19th of Jehoshaphat conumerary partly with the 22nd of Ahab, partly with the 1st of Ahaziah.</p> <p>Ahaziah 2 years.</p>
895	82	<p>Joram in Israel 12 y. Translation of <i>Elijah</i>. He was present at the last sickness of Ahaziah, and yet was translated before the Moabite war. His translation then and the succession of <i>Elisha</i> may be placed in the 1st year of Joram king of Israel. <i>Elisha</i> continued to prophesy about 60 y. See 837. <i>Elijah</i> is first mentioned in the beginning of the reign of Ahab, and may have prophesied 24 years.</p>

894	83	(Jehoshaphat assists Joram against Moab, about the 22nd year ending of Jehoshaphat and the 2nd beginning of Joram.)
891	86	(The 25th of Jehoshaphat.) The 1st of Jehoram, 8 y. æt. 32, in the 5th of Joram; the 5th of Joram being conumerary with the 25th current of Jehoshaphat and the 1st commencing of Jehoram.
884	93	<p>(The 8th of Jehoram.) Ahaziah æt. 22 one year. In the 12th of Joram, or the 11th of Joram. Jehoram's death therefore happened before the 11th of Joram was concluded.</p> <p>The 12th of Joram conum. with the year of Ahaziah. The Syrian war. Hazael had murdered Ben-Hadad. He smote Israel in the days of Jehu, approached Jerusalem in the days of Joash, oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz, and was succeeded by his son Ben-Hadad II towards the end of the reign of Jehoahaz. Hazael might reign B. C. 886—840 about 46 years.</p>
883	94	<p>Athaliah 6 years.</p> <p>Jehu 28 years.</p>
877	100	<p>Athaliah slain in the 7th year. Joash æt. 7 reigns 40 years.</p> <p>The 7th of Jehu is conum. with the 1st of Joash, consequently his 28th year is conum. with the 22nd, and the accession of Jehoahaz is in the very beginning of the 23rd of Joash.</p>
855	122	<p>The 23rd of Joash coincides with the 1st of Jehoahaz. Jehoiada is still living in the 23rd of Joash. He died æt. 130.</p> <p>Jehoahaz 17 years in the 23rd of Joash.</p>
839	138	<p>To the 39th of Joash inclusive from the accession of Athaliah there are in Judah <math>6 + 39 = 45</math> y. In Israel from the same epoch are <math>28 + 17 = 45</math>. The 17th then of Jehoahaz coincides with the 39th of Joash. But if the accession of Jehoash was within that 39th year, it follows that the 17th of Jehoahaz was not complete.</p> <p>The 17th of Jehoahaz not completed. Jehoash 16 years.</p>
838	139	<p>The 40th of Joash conum. with the 1st of Jehoash ending and the 2nd beginning.</p> <p>The 2nd of Jehoash commences.</p>
837	140	Amaziah 29 y. æt. 25 in the 2nd of Jehoash. The reign of Amaziah commenced towards the close of the 2nd of Jehoash.

		The 2nd of Jehoash concluded and the 3rd commencing. <i>Elisha</i> dies in the reign of Jehoash. After his death Jehoash thrice defeated Ben-Hadad son of Hazael, as <i>Elisha</i> had predicted to Jehoash in the beginning of his reign.
823	154	The 15th of Amaziah commenced towards the close of the 16th of Jehoash, and contained the accession of Jeroboam II. The 16th of Jehoash concluded. Jeroboam II 41 y. in the 15th of Amaziah.
809	168	The 29th of Amaziah. He survived Jehoash 15 years. The 14th of Jeroboam II ends and the 15th begins in the 29th of Amaziah. Whence it appears that the 15 years which are said to have elapsed from the death of Jehoash to the death of Amaziah were only current years, and that the 29th of Amaziah was complete.
808	169	Uzziah 52 y. æt. 16. The 1st of Uzziah contained partly the 15th and partly the 16th year of Jeroboam II.
783	194	The 26th of Uzziah contained part of the 40th and part of the 41st year of Jeroboam II.
771	206	The 38th of Uzziah contained the beginning of the reign of Zachariah. As the 15th of Jeroboam II ended in the 1st year of Uzziah, his 41st ended in the 27th of Uzziah. But as Zachariah began to reign (6 months) in the 38th, there remains an interregnum in Israel of about 11 years.
770	207	The 39th of Uzziah contained the end of Zachariah, the month of Shallum, and the beginning of the 1st year of Menahem. Zachariah is slain by Shallum in the 39th year of Uzziah. Shallum reigned a month in the 39th of Uzziah, and was slain by Menahem in the 39th of Uzziah. Menahem 10 y.
759	218	The 50th of Uzziah coincides with the 1st of Pekaiah. Pekaiah 2 y. in the 50th of Uzziah. Since the 1st of Menahem began in the 39th of Uzziah, his 10th began in the 48th and was completed in the 49th; and some short interval must have elapsed between the death of Menahem and the accession of Pekaiah.
757	220	The 52nd of Uzziah conum. with the 1st of Pekah. Pekah 20 years in the 52nd of Uzziah.



756	221	Jotham 16 y. æt. 25 in the 2nd of Pekah.
741	236	<p>The 16th of Jotham not complete; for the 1st of Ahaz began in the 17th of Pekah. Ahaz reigned 16 years, and was 20 years of age; but more properly 25 years of age, as in the Septuagint.</p> <p>The 17th of Pekah contained partly the 16th of Jotham partly the 1st of Ahaz.</p>
738	239	<p>The 4th of Ahaz. In his reign the kings of Damascus were ended by the Assyrians. One dynasty reigned for eleven generations. These reigns might occupy 300 years. But the succession had been interrupted by Hazael. See 884.</p> <p>The 20th of Pekah, if completed, would contain partly the 3rd and partly the 4th of Ahaz. Pekah is slain in the 20th of Jotham, that is, in the 20th year from Jotham's accession.</p>
730	247	<p>The 12th of Ahaz is made the first of Hoshea. But if the 1st of Hoshea commenced at the close of the 12th, his fourth year would commence at the close of the 15th of Ahaz. Hence it appears that the 16th of Ahaz was not complete, because the 1st of Hezekiah began within that 4th year of Hoshea.</p> <p>Hoshea 9 years in the 12th of Ahaz. And as Pekah was slain in the beginning of the 4th of Ahaz (see 738), it is hence collected that an interregnum of 9 years current intervened between Pekah and Hoshea.</p>
726	251	<p>The 16th of Ahaz not complete. Hezekiah 29 y. æt. 25. The 4th of Hezekiah was the 7th of Hoshea, the 6th was the 9th. The 1st therefore was in the 4th. The 4th of Hoshea commenced at the close of the 15th of Ahaz, and ended in the beginning of the 1st of Hezekiah.</p>
723	254	<p>The 4th of Hezekiah commenced at the close of the 7th of Hoshea.</p> <p>Samaria is besieged in the 4th of Hezekiah, <i>which was the 7th year of Hoshea.</i></p>
722	255	<p>The 5th of Hezekiah at the close of the 8th of Hoshea. Second year of the siege of Samaria.</p>
721	256	<p>The 6th of Hezekiah commenced towards the close of the 9th of Hoshea.</p> <p>Samaria is taken <i>at the end of three years, in the 6th of Hezekiah, that is, the 9th year of Hoshea.</i>—Taken in the beginning of the 6th of Hezekiah.</p>

713	264	In the 14th of Hezekiah Sennacherib invaded Judæa. His sickness was after the retreat of Sennacherib. He reigned therefore 29 years complete.
697	280	Manasseh 55 y. æt. 12.
642	335	Amon æt. 22 two years.
640	337	Josiah 31 y. æt. 8.
628	349	<i>Jeremiah</i> begins to prophesy in the 13th of Josiah.
623	354	The 18th of Josiah begins about May B. C. 623.
622		In the 18th year of Josiah the book of the Law was read, the Passover solemnly kept, the altar at Bethel destroyed. The 18th of Josiah was the 358th year according to the current years of the reigns of Judah, but the 354th according to the complete years. If the 18th year began in May B. C. 623, the Passover of that 18th year would fall in March or April 622.
609	368	Death of Josiah. From the age of his son it is probable that he reigned 31 y. complete. And, if his death occurred in May 609, his accession is placed at May 640. Jehoahaz 3 <sup>m</sup> , Jehoiakim 10y 6 <sup>m</sup> 15 <sup>d</sup> from August 609.
606	371	The 4th of Jehoiakim from Aug. 606. The 23rd year from the 13th of Josiah. The deportation of <i>Daniel</i> was in the 3rd of Jehoiakim. Whence we may place the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar towards the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th year, in the summer of B. C. 606. In the 4th y. of Jehoiakim <i>Baruch</i> writes the book.
605	372	The 5th of Jehoiakim from Aug. 605. In the 9th month in the 5th y. Baruch reads the book, <i>while the king sat in the winter house</i> —Nov. or Dec. 605.
598	379	The 10th of Jehoiakim is completed in Aug. 599. The 11th not complete. Jehoiakin 3 <sup>m</sup> æt. 18. from March to June 598. Taken in the 8th year of the king of Babylon; which was therefore current in Scripture computation in June 598. Zedekiah 11 y. æt. 21. His 11 years began in June 598, because they were completed in June 587.
587	390	The 11th year of Jehoiakin's captivity commences in June 588. <i>Ezekiel</i> prophesies against Tyre in the 11th year on the 1st day of the month; against Egypt in the 11th year on the 1st day of the 3rd month;—March and May 587. The 11th year of Zedekiah is completed

		in June 587. Jerusalem is taken on the 9th day of the 4th month. The temple is burnt on the 10th day of the 5th month <i>Ab</i> in 587. The 12th year of Jehoiakin's captivity commences at the capture of Zedekiah. <i>Ezekiel</i> prophesies on the 5th day of the 10th month Dec. 587 and on the 1st day of the 12th month Feb. 586.
573		<i>Ezekiel's</i> vision in the 25th year of our captivity in the beginning of the year, in the 10th day of the month, in the 14th year after that the city was smitten. The 25th year began in June 574, and the 1st Hebrew month is March 573. The city was smitten in June 587, the 14th year began in June 574 and was current till June 573.
561		The 37th year of Jehoiakin's captivity began in June B.C. 562; the 26th day of the 12th month, or the 27th day, <i>Adar</i> or Feb. 561, fell within the first year of Evil-Merodach, whose reign is dated from January 11 B.C. 561.

y.		y.	B.C.	
	<i>Rehoboam</i> .....	17	976	
18	<i>Abijah</i> .....	3	959	
21	<i>Asa</i> .....	41	956	
62	<i>Jehoshaphat</i> ..... (25) .....	24	915	
86	<i>Jehoram</i> .....	(8) .....	7	891
93	<i>Ahaziah</i> .....	1	884	
94	<i>Athaliah</i> .....	6	883	
100	<i>Joash</i> .....	40	877	
140	<i>Amaziah</i> .....	29	837	
169	<i>Uzziah</i> .....	52	808 (May)	
221	<i>Jotham</i> .....	(16) .....	15	756
236	<i>Ahaz</i> .....	(16) .....	15	741
251	<i>Hezekiah</i> .....	29	726	
280	<i>Manasseh</i> .....	55	697	
335	<i>Amon</i> .....	2	642	
337	<i>Josiah</i> .....	31	640 (May)	
368	<i>Jehoahaz</i> .....	3 <sup>m</sup>	} 22 <sup>y</sup> 1 <sup>m</sup> {	609 (May)
	<i>Jehoiakim</i> .....	11		609 (Aug.)
	<i>Jehoiakin</i> .....	3 <sup>m</sup>		598 (March)
	<i>Zedekiah</i> .....	11		598 (June)
		(393 6)	389 1	



## § 6 KINGS OF SPARTA.

The date of Apollodorus for the kings of Sparta, so far as we can trust the numbers of Eusebius, may be probably arranged in the following manner.

y.	y.	y.	y.
1 <i>Eurysthenes</i> .....	42	1 <i>Procles</i> .....	51
43 <i>Agis</i> .. .....	(31)	52 <i>Sous</i> .....	*
74 <i>Echestratus</i> .....	35	* <i>Eurypon</i> .....	*
109 <i>Labotas</i> .....	37		
146 <i>Doryssus</i> .....	29	127 <i>Prytanis</i> .....	49
175 <i>Agésilas</i> .....	44	176 <i>Eunomus</i> .....	45
219 <i>Archelaus</i> .....	60	221 <i>Charilaus</i> .....	60
279 <i>Teleclus</i> .....	40	281 <i>Nicander</i> .....	38
319 <i>Alcamenes</i> first .....	10	319 <i>Theopompus</i> first.....	10
<hr/>			
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## AGIDÆ.

2 EURYSTHENES. According to Lacedæmonian accounts Aristodemus himself lived to reign at Sparta. Müller conjectures that Apollodorus took into the account the reign of Aristodemus, and allowed him a year. But this is very uncertain. We shall see other instances in which Apollodorus is at variance with Spartan accounts, and he might be so in this. Herodotus attests the guardianship of Theras, and his migration from Sparta after the minors had assumed the government. Eurysthenes and Procles both survived Temenus, and lived till Æpytus son of Cresphontes was grown to manhood. Apollodorus assigns to Eurysthenes only 42 years; but, if Procles reigned 51, Eurysthenes according to the tradition preserved by Cicero reigned 52. The twin brothers were said to have married twin sisters.

3 AGIS subdued the Helots. Müller conjectures that the Helots were an aboriginal race subdued at a very early period, and

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2 PROCLES was more eminent than his brother, and died one year before him. This tradition invalidates the chronology of Apollodorus, who makes Procles live 9 years longer than his brother. The twin brothers were hostile to each other.

According to Ephorus the brothers divided Laconia into six parts; one of the six, Amyclæ, they gave to a confederate, who had aided the Dorians in the conquest; Sparta they reserved for their own residence; to the other four districts they appointed governors, who were to recruit the deficient numbers by admitting strangers into the commonwealth.

3 SOUS. Since Eurysthenes and Procles died within a year of each other, Agis and Sous were contemporary; and hence the war

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that they immediately passed over to the Dorians as slaves. But this conjecture is at variance with Theopompus, who affirms that the Lacedæmonians when they conquered the Achæans, and the Thessalians when they conquered the *Perrhæbi* and *Magnetes*, were the first who reduced to slavery the former occupiers of the country. But this would not be true, if the Achæans themselves, some generations before the Trojan war, had reduced to this kind of slavery the aborigines of Laconia.

From Agis the kings of this line were called Agidæ. The migration of Grais son of Echelatus was referred to this reign. Lesbos was occupied about 51 years after the Return: which would sufficiently agree with the beginning of the reign of Agis.

It is evident that Pausanias did not limit the reign of Agis to a single year, and the acts ascribed to Agis render so short a reign improbable. Wherefore we may here supply the deficient years which are required to complete the period of Apollodorus.

4 ECHESTRATUS. The Cynurian territory was conquered in his reign.

5 LABOTAS. The Argive war ensued in this reign.

6 DORYSSUS. Pausanias relates of Doryssus and his successor that they reigned for short periods; but Apollodorus followed different authorities, since he as-

## PROCLIDÆ.

of Agis with the Helots was ascribed to the reign of Sous. A war with the Clitorians in this reign is recorded by Plutarch.

4 EURYPONOR EURYTION. Notwithstanding the eminence of *Sous*, the kings of this branch were not named from him, but *Eurypontidæ* from *Eurypon*.

A long war with the Arcadians of Mantinea occurred in this reign. From the narrative of that war it appears that Mantinea was already under a popular government.

5 PRYTANIS. War with the Argives. This war with the Argives in the reigns of Labotas and Prytanis, and the wars with the Arcadians in the preceding reigns of Agis Sous and Eurypon, are those to which Aristotle refers; by which the Lacedæmonians were prepared for the discipline of Lycurgus.

6 EUNOMUS or POLYDECTES. *Eunomus* appears to be a fictitious name. Prytanis was the grandfather of Charilaus, as we know from Simonides. It is pro-

## AGIDÆ.

signed  $29 + 44 = 73$  years to these two reigns.

7 AGESILAUS. The account of Pausanias is that Agesilaus reigned only a short time, and that the legislation of Lycurgus fell within his reign. But here Apollodorus differed, according to whom Agesilaus reigned 44 years and died 110 years before the Olympiad of Coræbus, or two years before the birth of Charilaus. Clemens Alexandrinus thus speaks of his reign: "Apollodorus says that Homer is reported to have lived 100 years after the Ionic migration, in the reign of Agesilaus son of Doryssus at Sparta." According to the dates in Eusebius Agesilaus began to reign in the 115th year after the Ionic colonies and died in the 159th, which may be reconciled with Clemens. Apollodorus probably placed the birth of Homer at 100 years after the Ionic migration, and his *acme* in the reign of Agesilaus.

8 ARCHELAUS. Contemporary with Charilaus, with whom he took Ægys. Archelaus and Charilaus are joined together as contemporary in an oracle reported by Œnomaus, which perhaps refers to their joint conquest of Ægys.

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bable that Polydectes was the father, and that *Eunomus* was another name, or a poetical description, for *Polydectes*. But when Polydectes the real father of Charilaus came to be inserted in the list in addition to *Eunomus*, this *Eunomus* became the grandfather of Charilaus, and this interpolated generation threw back Prytanis the real grandfather one generation higher. No distinct acts are ascribed to Eunomus and Polydectes. Their reigns are said to have been short and peaceful. That there was a cessation of war between the time of Prytanis and the legislation of Lycurgus may be collected from Aristotle. From the mutilated account in Eusebius we may suspect that Apollodorus agreed with Simonides as in the order so in the number of these reigns. The father of Charilaus has a short reign in Pausanias, but 45 years in Eusebius, and only 75 years remain to complete the period of Apollodorus between the death of Procles and the accession of Prytanis. These might have been distributed between Sous and Eurypon.

7 CHARILAUS. Apollodorus places the beginning of his life and reign 108 years before the Olympiad of Coræbus. Sosibius gives him 64 years and places his accession only 97 years before that epoch. Charilaus participated in the acts of Lycurgus. Aristotle, having mentioned two wars, an Argive and an Arcadian, which preceded the legislation of Lycurgus, refers to the change effected by the legislator in the time of Charilaus. In this reign the Lacedæmonians had



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9 TELECLUS. Amyclæ Pharis and Geronthræ had remained in the possession of the Achæans, but in the reign of Teleclus son of Archelaus were subjected by the Dorians. The war with Amyclæ was noticed by Aristotle in his account of the Laconian polity. Not long after the conquest of Amyclæ Teleclus was slain by the Messenians.

10 ALCAMENES. In his reign Helos was finally subdued. It seems therefore that on the subjection of the Helots by Agis 200 years before some of the inhabitants were permitted to remain, and that they were now finally destroyed or removed. Helos itself remained to the time of Thucydides and Xenophon, perhaps as a fortress on the coast. According to Pausanias Alcamenes commanded in the first expedition of the Messenian war; but before the 5th year he was dead. By this account the earliest date for his death would be B.C. 742. In Apollodorus he has 38 years, and the 10th is current in July 776. The last year then would fall upon 748, and Apollodorus places his reign at least six years too high. If Alcamenes reigned 38 years, they were at about B.C. 779-742. In Eusebius Alcamenes has 37 years; and Eusebius, or Diodorus, by an error in the numbers placed his death yet 28 years higher, at 776, and 33 years before the beginning of the war in which he bore a part.

11 POLYDORUS. According to Pausanias already quoted he succeeded Alcamenes, between 743 and 739. That he was contemporary with Theopompus is at-

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war with Tegea. In that war Charilaus was taken prisoner.

8 NICANDER son of Charilaus has 39 years in Sosibius, 38 in Apollodorus and in Suidas.

9 THEOPOMPUS. The first Messenian war began in the reigns of Alcamenes and Theopompus. Apollodorus gives to Theopompus 47 years, which are placed at B.C. 785-739. Sosibius dates his accession 15 years lower, at B.C. 770. The date of Apollodorus is refuted by the incidents of the Messenian war. Theopompus survived the conclusion of that war upon the testimony of Tyrtæus, and probably lived till B.C. 718. If then he reigned 47 years, they would commence at B.C. 765, and Sosibius is nearer the truth. Theopompus however might begin to reign in 770, where Sosibius places him, six years after the Olympiad of Coræbus, and might reign 52 years, till the year 718.

Theopompus instituted the Ephori. The date of Eusebius for the first ephor, anno 1259 B.C. 75 $\frac{3}{4}$ , might fall upon the 14th year of Theopompus. Herodotus ascribes the institution to Lycurgus. This difference may be reconciled. The ephori might exist in the time of Lycurgus, but might receive new powers from Theopompus. That Theopompus was the founder of their political importance is determined by Aristotle.

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tested by Plutarch. After the first Messenian war part of the lands of Messenia were divided among the Lacedæmonians, and according to some very probable accounts an augmentation of the Spartan lots was made by Polydorus. Within the reign of Polydorus colonists were sent to Crotona and Locri, and the colony at Tarentum was planted by Phalanthus. Crotona was founded by the Achæans in B.C. 710, Locri about the same time. We may suppose that Spartans participated in those two colonies. Tarentum was founded after the first Messenian war. If the report which Aristotle has preserved, that there were once 10,000 Spartans, was ever true, we might suppose that it was true in the reign of Polydorus, and that 9000 remained, after those colonies had been sent to Italy.

12 EURYCRATES. During his reign the Messenians remained in submission to the Lacedæmonians.

13 ANAXANDER reigned in the time of the second Messenian war. He commanded against Aristomenes, and still directed affairs in the last year of the war.

14 EURYCRATES II. In his reign an unsuccessful war with Tegea.

15 LEON. Contemporary with Agesicles, and in the generation preceding *Cræsus*.

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10 ZEUXIDAMUS. Grandson of Theopompus. He might succeed his grandfather about B. C. 718, a few years before the death of Polydorus. He was therefore contemporary partly with Polydorus and partly with Eurycrates.

11 ANAXIDAMUS. In his reign the Messenians fly from Peloponnesus. He is accordingly contemporary with Anaxander; and survives B. C. 668.

12 ARCHIDAMUS. Contemporary with Eurycrates II of the other house.

13 AGESICLES. Herodotus attests that in the reigns of Leon and Agesicles the Lacedæmonians were unsuccessful in a war with Tegea.

ANAXANDRIDES and ARISTON probably began to reign about B.C. 560. Their predecessors Leon and Agesicles may accordingly be referred to about 590 or 600. According to the dates of Pausanias for the first Messenian war the five reigns from Polydorus to Leon inclusive occupied about 180 years,

or 36 years to each; the five contemporary reigns from Theopompus to Agesicles 210 years, or 42 years to each reign: a proportion exceeding the usual amount. But as the date of Pausanias for the first Messenian war is confirmed by the time of Polychares, the reigns of this period seem to belong to those cases in which an average proportion is not to be applied. The average proportion is obtained when the longer reigns of some are compensated by the shorter reigns of others. But this compensation only happens in long tracts of time, comprehending all the vicissitudes of turbulent and quiet periods, or of longer and shorter lives, such as will be found in a long series of reigns. An average may be nearly true of 20 or 30 successive reigns, and yet may not be true of five<sup>c</sup>. But it will be said that in the preceding times the Spartan reigns exceed the average proportion. From the Return to Alcamenes inclusive 10 reigns of the *Agidæ* occupy by the reduced date of Callimachus 307 years, giving  $30\frac{2}{3}$  years to each; and eight reigns to Nicander inclusive in the line of the *Proclidæ* have 278 years, or  $34\frac{3}{4}$  to each. The whole series of 18 reigns to the death of Leonidas B. C. 480 gives in 568 years  $31\frac{1}{2}$ , and of 13 reigns to the death of Agesicles cir. B. C. 560 gives in 488 years  $37\frac{1}{2}$  to each. We may answer, that an average rule which is founded on the successions in elective governments, as the Roman or German emperors, and especially on elective under peculiar circumstances, as the popes of Rome, is not to be applied to hereditary successions; and that even hereditary reigns, where no cases of disputed succession occur, are not to be measured by a standard obtained from cases of disturbed succession. In applying, then, an average standard<sup>d</sup>, the particular circumstances of the history are to be considered; and in these Spartan reigns from Aristodemus to the Persian wars we may

<sup>c</sup> See the Philolog. Mus. vol. I p. 87. Five kings of France of the House of *Bourbon* reigned A. D. 1589—1792, 204 years; giving an average of  $50\frac{2}{3}$  years to each. Six kings of England A. D. 1199—1399 occupy 200 years, or  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years to each reign; being exactly equal to generations. An average proportion is still more inapplicable to any one particular reign; and an average obtained from the collective amount of 20 or 30 reigns may not exhibit the ac-

tual amount of a single reign in the series.

<sup>d</sup> Newton had assumed the mean length of reigns to be 19 years. Hales vol. I p. 304. gives a list of ten cases from which he obtains  $22\frac{1}{3}$  years as the average standard. The first three, however, of the cases adduced are taken from periods of fabulous history; his 9th is taken from the German emperors, who are elective. These being rejected, and the enquiry being limited to known



admit the argument of Hales, that, there being one minority in the *Agidæ* and two minorities in the *Proclidæ*, the reigns may be taken as equal to generations.

### § 7 GREEK POETS.

The early epic poetry of the Greeks may be distributed into three classes; in the first we may place the *ὑμνοὶ* or *τελευταί*, in the second the *Epic cycle*, and in the third the works ascribed to *Hesiod*, together with those poems which, although not included in the *Epic cycle*, yet described the same subjects.

Of the early composers of *hymni* or their works nothing satisfactory can now be known. They were referred however to the earliest times. Olen was the most ancient composer of *hymni*. The poet Linus also preceded Orpheus. Orpheus himself was an Argonaut; Musæus was his contemporary; but of Orpheus Linus and Musæus no genuine works remained. Those which were circulated under their names were spurious compositions, the productions of after-times. Pamphos was accounted earlier than Homer; Olympus was referred to the age of Orpheus; but the works ascribed to him belonged to a later Olympus, whose time may be determined with better certainty, and who may be placed about fifty years after the Olympiad of Corœbus.

The *Epic cycle* described by Proclus and referred to by other grammarians commenced at the *Theogony*, proceeded through the heroic times, describing the actions of Hercules and Theseus, the Theban and Trojan wars, the fortunes of the Grecian chiefs after the fall of Troy, and concluded with the return of Ulysses to Ithaca and the adventures of his son

times and hereditary successions, a larger average may be obtained. examples are taken from Hales; the fifth, from Blair and Du Fresnoy:

In the following Table the first three

	Reigns.	Years.	To each.
1 Kings of France A. D. 987—1792. . . . .	32	806	25
2 ——— Spain A. D. 1027—1788. . . . .	32	761	24
3 ——— Scotland A. D. 938—1625 . . . . .	33	687	21
4 ——— England A. D. 1066—1819 . . . . .	32	754	23½
5 ——— Portugal A. D. 1089—1577. . . . .	17	489	28¾
6 <i>Agidæ</i> from B. C. 560 to B. C. 265 . . . . .	11	295	27
7 <i>Proclidæ</i> B. C. 560—240 . . . . .	12	320	26⅔
Mean length of reigns in hereditary successions	169	4112	24⅓

Telegonus. The poets by whom this series of actions was described were called the cyclic poets, and their works the cyclic poems. All the works however in which these subjects were treated were not included in the epic cycle. But, although all were not included, the epic cycle differed from the greater part of the poems in the third class only in name. In that cycle, which was probably formed by the Alexandrian critics, it was proposed to exhibit a connected series. When two or more poems were found upon the same argument, only one would be received. The compilers of the collection, when a choice was offered, would select that which was most convenient for their purpose. Hence Proclus observes that the poems of this collection were not chosen for their poetical merit but for their fitness in supplying the connexion. The works then which were omitted were not of less authority than the others. The *Theogony* of Hesiod was not inferior to the poem of that title which was received into the cycle. The *Heracleia* of Cinæthon and the *Heracleia* of Pisander were of equal value in the eyes of the ancient critics as records of the acts of Hercules. The selection of one would be no disparagement to the other. But, when this epic cycle was once formed, it would naturally happen that the works contained in it would be more generally read than the others, and the cyclic poems would be preserved, while some others had perished. Hence the whole collection survived till the time of Proclus, and might be extant as late as A. D. 450, when Proclus was 40 years of age.

The works included in the cycle were not arranged with reference to the order of time in which they were composed, but solely with reference to the order of events. Before, however, we consider the poets themselves in their chronological order, it will be advantageous to survey the principal poems the titles of which remain; placing them in the order prescribed by Proclus. The following catalogue contains nearly all the titles of the cyclic poems; but, as it cannot now be known in every case, when more than one upon the same subject occurs, which was received and which omitted, there are some in the list which did not belong to the cycle.

§ 1 *Theogonia*. The cyclic *Theogonia* was distinguished from that of *Hesiod*.

§ 2 *Titanomachia*.

§ 3 *Gigantomachia*.

These three titles are arranged with certainty. In the next fourteen poems the order is not so evident. Some of them describe contemporary actions; others embrace long periods of time.

§ 4 *Naupactica*. So named from the author, as the *Cypria* were named from the author. The 'Hoiai μεγάλοι, a poem attributed to Hesiod, described the same subjects as the *Naupactica*.

§ 5 *Phoronis*.

§ 6 *Danais*.

§ 7 *Corinthiaca*.

§ 8 *Alcmæonis*.

§ 9 *Ægimius*.

§ 10 *Heracleia Cynæthonis*.

§ 11 *Heracleia Pisandri*.

§ 12 Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις.

§ 13 *Minyas*.

§ 14 *Atthis*.

§ 15 *Theseis*.

§ 16 *Amazonia*.

§ 17 *Argonautica*. Although no testimony remains to any early poem bearing this title, yet we may infer that such a poem once existed from Herodorus, who lived before Aristotle and composed an *Argonautica* in prose, doubtless a narrative of what had been related in verse by some early epic poet.

§ 18 *Europia*. This and the next three poems may be placed in successive order. They relate to *Cadmus* *Ædipus* and the Theban wars.

§ 19 *Ædipodia*.

§ 20 *Thebais*.

§ 21 *Epigoni*.

§ 22 *Cypria*. This and the remaining seven poems were on the tale of Troy. They were all in the cycle, and their order is fixed by Proclus.

§ 23 *Ilias*.

§ 24 *Æthiopis*.

§ 25 *Ilias parva*. *Phocais*. Of the subject of the *Phocais* we have no information.



§ 26 Ἰλίου πέρσις.

§ 27 Νόστοι.

§ 28 *Odyssea*.

§ 29 *Telegonia*. A sequel to the *Odyssey*.

In this catalogue, which, including the Φωκαῖς mentioned in § 25, exhibits the titles of thirty epic poems, the most ancient composition is undoubtedly the *Iliad*. The next in antiquity is the *Odyssey*. Of all the other works of which the time is ascertained the earliest are the *Æthiopis* and the Ἰλίου πέρσις; the author of which flourished in B. C. 775; the latest was the *Telegonia*, which may be placed at B. C. 566. The rest are either poems by unknown authors, or ascribed to poets of uncertain date. The poets whose time is uncertain are considered below. They may be placed within the limits here named, B. C. 775—566. But some of the poems which were composed by unknown authors were probably of early date, for a reason which is given below; and may be assigned a place in the very beginning of this period, next in time to the *Odyssey* or the works of *Hesiod*.

Although the authors of these works lived some ages after the heroic times, yet they drew from the compositions of poets older than themselves, and poets who were acquainted with many of the facts which they described. By far the greater part of the subjects here named lies within the compass of the heroic age, ascending about three generations above the Trojan war and proceeding downwards to the second generation after it. But, from the pictures of heroic manners given to us in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we cannot doubt that contemporary bards celebrated the actions of the heroes with whom they lived. Those poets with respect to the actors in the scene and the main actions performed were contemporary witnesses; and their evidence was preserved as long as their compositions existed. But when their works came to be superseded by more finished poems, in which their poetry was incorporated, the works of the older bards naturally became obsolete, and ceased to be remembered.

Hesiod supplies a notice of himself. His father inhabited Æolian Cyme, from whence he migrated to Ascra in Bœotia. And Cyme itself was not founded till 150 years after the

Trojan war. Hesiod according to some opinions was contemporary with Homer; he is placed before him by some accounts and after him by others. The weight of authorities is in favour of this last opinion. The dates for Homer and Hesiod when adjusted to the reduced epochs given above, B. C. 1127 for the fall of Troy and B. C. 988 for the Ionic migration, will produce the following positions. The *acme* of Homer, taken from the age of 25 to 60 years, will fall within B. C. 962—927, or from 165 to 200 years after the Trojan era. Hesiod will be placed 100 years later, according to the account of Porphyry and many others, and his flourishing period will occupy B. C. 859—824, from 268 to 303 years after the era and 400 years before the *acme* of Herodotus, which may be taken at B. C. 459—424.

Of the following poets whose times are known the earliest is Arctinus. Eugamon, probably the latest of the cyclic poets, came two centuries after him. But during a large portion of these 200 years the first elegiac lyric and iambic poets were contemporary with the epic. Callinus flourished 170 years before the last cyclic poet; Archilochus 140 years; Terpan-der Aleman and Thaletas a century before him. These are combined in one list, according to the probable order of time, in the following catalogue.

- 1 *Homerus*. [B. C. 962—927.]
- 2 *Hesiodus*. [B. C. 859—824.]
- 3 *Arctinus* flourished B. C. 775—740. For his works see § 24. 26.
- 4 *Cinæthon* B. C. 765.
- 5 *Eumelus* B. C. 761—731. See his works § 2. 7. 18.
- 6 *Antimachus* of *Teos* B. C. 753.
- 7 *Cercops*.
- 8 *Asius* of *Samos*. An early epic poet, quoted by Antiochus Duris and Pausanias.
- 9 *Creophylus*; author of the *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις*. see § 12. Said to be contemporary with Homer. Similar traditions were preserved of other early poets. Stasinus was contemporary with Homer; and Arctinus. To the same class of tales may be referred the more celebrated account that Homer and Hesiod were contemporary.

Pisander was reckoned older than Hesiod; Cercops contemporary with Hesiod: which is not to be supposed a mistake of Laërtius, arising from the cause which Heyne assigns, but rather a tradition of the earlier grammarians whom Laërtius followed. Those accounts, although fabulous, yet establish that these were early poets. The times of Arctinus and Pisander are known; and we may infer that the others whose age is not known flourished near their times, within the period of the cyclic poets; perhaps not earlier than Arctinus and yet not later than Eugamon. Within these limits we may place the eight epic poets in this list whose age is unknown, from Cercops to Hegesinus inclusive.

- 10 *Stasinus* of *Cyprus*; author of the *Κύπρια ἔπη*. see § 22.  
This poem was probably so called from the country of its author, as the *Ναυπακτικὰ* were so named because the author was of Naupactus.
- 11 *Prodicus* of *Phocæa*. Reputed the author of the *Minyas*.
- 12 *Diodorus* of *Erythræ*.
- 13 *Augias* of *Træzen*. Author of the *Νόστοι*.
- 14 *Hegesinus*. The circumstance that he wrote an *Atthis* in epic verse which was quoted as authority, but which was lost before the time of Pausanias, will make it probable that Hegesinus belonged to this period, and flourished at least not later than Eugamon.
- 15 *Callinus*. Flourished B. C. 736—712.
- 16 *Archilochus*. The remaining accounts refer him to B. C. 708—665.
- 17 *Simonides* of *Amorgus*. Flourished B. C. 693—662.
- 18 *Tyrtæus* B. C. 683.
- 19 *Thaletas* B. C. 690—660.
- 20 *Terpander* B. C. 676—644.
- 21 *Polymnastus* B. C. 675—644.
- 22 *Alcman* B. C. 671—631.
- 23 *Aristoxenus* of *Selinus* B. C. 628.
- 24 *Lesches* of *Mytilene* B. C. 657.
- 25 *Xanthus*. A lyric poet who preceded Stesichorus.
- 26 *Pisander* of *Camira* B. C. 647—623.
- 27 *Arion* B. C. 625—610.
- 28 *Mimnermus* B. C. 630—586.



29 *Sappho* B. C. 611—592.

30 *Alcæus* B. C. 611.

31 *Damophylë* B. C. 611.

32 *Erinna* B. C. 611.

33 *Stesichorus* B. C. 608.

34 *Chersias* of *Orchomenus* in *Bæotia*. Contemporary with *Periander*, who reigned B. C. 625—585. If we place *Chersias* in the middle of that period, we shall refer him to B. C. 605.

35 *Solon* B. C. 594.

36 *Sacadas* B. C. 586—578.

37 *Pythocritus* B. C. 574—554.

38 *Eugamon* of *Cyrene* B. C. 566.

Concerning the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we should desire to know, if it were possible, whether they were composed without the aid of writing ; and if so, at what time they were first committed to writing, and with what degree of accuracy they had been preserved without it. That the Greeks were taught the use of letters by the Egyptians or Phœnicians would be probable, even if no tradition remained to confirm it. The inhabitants of Syria Egypt and Phœnicia possessed the use of writing from the remotest period. But from the two last nations the Greeks received many settlers and many of the arts of life ; their communications with them began in the earliest ages. The Phœnicians in particular had visited the coasts of the *Ægæan* sea many generations before the Trojan war. It would be probable from the nature of things that the Egyptian or Phœnician settlers would carry with them this art among others. The traditions of the Greeks themselves confirm this, and point to the East as the source from whence they derived the art. The invention of letters is ascribed to *Prometheus* by *Æschylus* ; the introduction of them to *Danaüs* by *Anaximander*, *Dionysius* of *Miletus*, *Hecataeus*, *Pythodorus* ; to *Cadmus* by *Herodotus*, *Sophocles*, *Ephorus*, *Aristotle*, and by *Dionysius* quoted in *Diodorus* ; to *Palamedes* by *Stesichorus* and *Euripides*. Others attributed them to *Hermes* or *Cecrops* or *Linus* or *Musæus*. *Mitford*, after *Montfaucon*, truly remarks that the names of the Greek letters sufficiently testify that they came from Phœnicia.

At what time the Greeks received this art cannot be now determined; but there is nothing incredible in the account that they had the knowledge of letters as early as the time of Cadmus. The very uncertainty of the Grecian traditions is a proof that this art had been introduced at a period very remote, and beyond the reach of any authentic information. But although known to the Greeks thus early, yet Mitford has shewn very sufficient reasons why the use of letters made slow progress among them. Letters might be known 130 years before the fall of Troy, but the familiar use was not practised till long after it; and we may admit with Wolf and Heyne that the poems of Homer were not committed to writing by their author. If this be so, we are led to enquire when written copies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were first made. Wolf refers this to the time of Pisistratus. An earlier date, however, may probably be assigned. Letters were known and used even in Peloponnesus in the age of Lycurgus, who enacted that his laws should not be committed to writing; an unnecessary provision, if writing had not been practised. Wolf himself acknowledges that the art of writing was practised soon after the beginning of the Olympiads, and affirms that perhaps Arctinus and Eumelus, but certainly Archilochus and Aleman and Pisander, committed their works to writing. And this is justified by the circumstances. For according to Cicero Greece was filled with poets and musicians before B. C. 750. Fifty years later, Deioces delivered his judgments in writing. Indications also remain that the Homeric poems were extensively known and popular in Greece before the time of Pisistratus. Lycurgus was said by early authorities to have introduced them (or at least the *Iliad*) into Peloponnesus. They had been celebrated at Sicyon before the time of Clisthenes, who was tyrant of Sicyon more than thirty years before the accession of Pisistratus. Solon, who was contemporary with Clisthenes, had already introduced the recital of *Homer* at Athens. And the narrative concerning Solon, that he appealed to the Homeric Catalogue in support of the claim of the Athenians to Salamis, is a proof of the authority of these poems; for, whether that line was interpolated by Solon, or whether it was already in the catalogue, it testifies that the authority of the *Iliad* was already

established, if the states of Greece were likely to receive it as evidence.

The opinion, then, of Wolf that the Iliad and Odyssey were not committed to writing till the times of the Pisistratidæ, and that written copies of the cyclic poems were not made till after that period, is not justified by facts ; and is even inconsistent with his own positions. For if the poets, with whom Greece was now filled according to Cicero, had begun to apply this art in B. C. 708, when Archilochus flourished, it is not likely that these poems, the most celebrated and favourite compositions of the Greeks, would remain unwritten for 150 years afterwards. And if Pisander *certainly* committed his works to writing, it cannot be affirmed that the cyclic poets, to whom probably Pisander himself, undoubtedly some of his contemporaries, belonged, were not preserved in writing till a century after Pisander.

But the services which Pisistratus rendered to the Homeric poems are much overstated by Wolf, who asserts that it was the unanimous voice of all antiquity that Pisistratus first caused them to be committed to writing, and first arranged them in the order in which they now appear. But these two propositions (which are at variance with his own admission just before that the Iliad and Odyssey were properly arranged in Ionia and elsewhere before Solon's time, and with his conjecture that they were probably written in the age of Solon and Pittacus) are not both equally justified by the authorities produced. For in all the list of testimonies no mention is made of written copies except in a single passage of Josephus, who does not name Pisistratus. The whole import of all the other passages amounts to this, that Pisistratus first collected and arranged the detached poems of which the Iliad and Odyssey were composed. The recitation of Homer at the Panathenæa, a fact alluded to by Isocrates, and more distinctly attested by Lysurgus, is attributed by another account to Hipparchus ; and Hipparchus is affirmed to have been the first who introduced Homer into Attica. This account then limits the services of the Pisistratidæ to Attica alone ; and, if Hipparchus participated, brings down the collection to the close of the reign of Pisistratus. The library which he was said to have formed was at Athens ; and in the same age a



contemporary collection is recorded of Polycrates of Samos. Pisistratus, then, himself, towards the close of his reign, and his son Hipparchus after him, encouraged learned men and poets. A library was formed by Pisistratus containing the works of the epic elegiac lyric and iambic poets, and among the rest the Iliad and Odyssey, the detached parts of which perhaps were then first collected and arranged in their present order ; but as the collection was for Athens alone, and had no reference to the rest of Greece, and as written works of other poets had been known in Greece for at least 200 years before, and a similar library at that very time was formed at Samos, it is not to be believed that the Iliad and Odyssey, the works of all others the most celebrated, were then first committed to writing.

It is probable, then, that these poems began to be written, at least in Ionia and Æolis, as soon as written poetry came to be in use ; that is, between B. C. 776 and B. C. 700, between the times of Arctinus and Archilochus. But if the composition of these poems, or at least of the Iliad, is rightly referred to B. C. 962—927, there had elapsed a space of about two centuries, during which they existed without the aid of writing. How were they preserved without it ? Mitford, founding his opinion upon Plato, argues that by the aid of poetry and music the memory was capable of retaining with correctness long compositions. And Wolf concurs in the opinion that Homer could be accurately preserved without writing. In the early poetry of Greece the *δοῖδς* recited his own compositions, the *ῥαψῳδὸς* the compositions of others, with precision. In those times the memory, being the only or at least the chief depository of knowledge, was cultivated with a care proportioned to its necessity and importance ; and the Grecian bards might transmit their poetry, as the Druids of Gaul and Britain transmitted theirs, without the aid of letters. The *rhapsodi*, a class of persons trained to the business of recitation, received from the *δοῖδς* the compositions which it was their office to recite, and acquired by practice the power of retaining long poems. The poems of Homer in particular were sung at Chios by a family, or rather school, of rhapsodists, who bore from their functions the name of *Homeridæ*. By these methods, although so remote from the

habits of our times, the works of Homer might be preserved in their genuine condition, and transmitted through four or five generations from the time of the poet himself to the period when they were secured in written copies from future accidents.

Wolf is inconsistent upon this subject. He asserts fully the power of the memory, and affirms that Homer without the aid of writing was preserved by the *rhapsodi*, and even that the genuine text may be restored. And yet in another place he contends that the *rhapsodi* corrupted in recitation, and that whole books of the Iliad were not composed by the original author. He argues at one time (what may perhaps be true) that the Iliad was originally composed in detached portions, and afterwards combined into one poem by others; and that marks of this subsequent combination may still be traced, in the want of coherence and consistency in some of the parts; at another time he rejects the last six books of the Iliad as spurious, because they do not form a part of the original argument. But it is evident that no reason is here adduced for rejecting these books; for, if the author designed his works as a series of poems on one subject, but not as component parts of a single poem, there could be no original argument of the whole; and the last six *rhapsodiæ* might be genuine, although they are not promised in the *exordium* of the Iliad. And this circumstance, that they are not promised in the introductory lines, is not only no proof that these parts of the Iliad are spurious, but is an argument that the *exordium* itself is genuine; for, if it had been composed by a *διασκευαστής*, it would have been adapted with more minute accuracy to the body of poetry which was to follow. And yet Wolf admits that an unity of style and manner pervades the whole Iliad. The same answer may be given to his objection that the catalogue is unnecessary. Both the catalogue and the six last books are quoted not less than the other parts of the poem by ancient authorities.

The opinion of Heyne, that several *rhapsodi* originally composed the songs out of which the Iliad was compiled, is still less tenable. This opinion is merely founded on the probability that a long poem, composed and at first preserved without the aid of writing, might not be the work of one man.

But to this we may oppose the internal evidence of the *Iliad* itself. There are doubtless in the long series of the *Iliad* many lines which might be pruned away ; many, which may be interpolations ; although the indications of this are more rare than we might expect. But yet the general fabric of the whole, the unity of style, not merely in the structure of the verse and language (which is a less decisive argument), but still more in the thoughts and characters and images, mark the poems of which the *Iliad* is composed for the productions of a single mind.

That the *Odyssey* was composed by the author of the *Iliad* was the persuasion of the early Greeks. It is quoted without suspicion by Plato Aristotle and others. But among the Alexandrian critics, as it should seem, the question arose, whether the author of the *Iliad* was also the author of the *Odyssey*. Aristarchus appears to have held that they were both composed by Homer ; since in some passages of the Venetian scholia, which for the most part follow his authority, reasons are offered against the opinion of those who gave the *Odyssey* to another poet. The arguments in favour of that opinion which may be gathered from those passages are for the most part frivolous and insufficient. Strabo Plutarch Pausanias Athenæus never notice it ; Seneca mentions it with contempt. Some modern critics, however, have minutely examined this question, and have traced in the *Odyssey* differences of style and indications of a later time, which make it probable that this poem was the work of another author. But yet, if not by the same poet, these two poems manifestly belong to the same school of poetry, and are not far from each other in time. I should upon conjecture place the *Odyssey* before Hesiod, and about 50 years later than the time of Homer.

If Hesiod flourished where we have placed him, 400 years before Herodotus and about 80 before the Olympiad of Corcebus, his genuine works, like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, must have been at first preserved by recitation for some space before they were committed to writing. It seems probable from what has been already observed that written copies were begun to be made 50 years after that era, and little more than a century after the time of Hesiod himself. The genuine



works which may be referred to B. C. 859—824 are the Ἔργα, perhaps the *Theogonia*. The other works which bore his name, the *Melampodia*, the Ἀσπίς, the Ἡοῖαι μεγάλοι and κατάλογοι γυναικῶν, and the Κήϋκος γάμος, which was perhaps included in the κατάλογοι, may be added to the list of thirty epic poems already given. Their age is unknown. The Ἡοῖαι and the Ἀσπίς have been brought down to the 40th Olympiad by some. But this date is assigned upon conjecture, and is founded on no authority. If the authors had lived so late as B. C. 620, when letters were in common use and poetry was written, it is likely that their names would have been preserved. That these poems, with the *Melampodia* the κατάλογοι and Κήϋκος γάμος, were ascribed to Hesiod, and that the real authors were unknown, is a proof of their antiquity, and an argument that they were composed before the use of writing was general. The Ἡοῖαι and some other pieces might really be composed by Hesiod himself; those which were the work of other poets may be placed near his time, or at least not later than Arctinus. The anonymous cyclic poems, the *Phoronis*, *Danais*, *Alcmæonis*, *Thebais* and *Epigoni*, may for the same reasons be assigned to the same period.

# FASTI HELLENICI.

## PART THE SECOND.

THE second part of this chronology, from the 55th to the 125th Olympiad, contains the space of 283 years, which commence at the beginning of the usurpation of *Pisistratus*, and include the accession of the second *Ptolemy*. This period embraces the reign of *Cyrus* and the rise of the Persian empire, the overthrow of that empire, the reign of *Alexander*, and the deaths of his first successors. The commencement of Historical Writing in prose, the rise the progress and the perfection of Oratory at Athens, Philosophy from its founder *Thales* to its final division into four sects, Tragedy and Comedy at Athens from the beginning of the written drama down to *Posidippus*, are contained in this period. The subjects which belong to it are briefly set forth in their order in the Table, and explained in the dissertations which follow, and which exhibit the series of Historians, of Orators, of Philosophers, and of Tragic and Comic Poets.

560	<p>Ol. 55 <i>Comias archon</i>. <i>Pisistratus</i> first usurps the government, 70 years before the battle of Marathon.</p> <p><i>Thales</i>, who was born in Ol. 35, is near 80 years of age. <i>Ibycus</i> flourished in the reign of <i>Cræsus</i>.</p>
559	<p><i>Hegestratus archon</i>. <i>Cyrus</i> began to reign in Persia within Ol. 55. 1. (Occupation of the Chersonese by <i>Miltiades</i> son of <i>Cypselus</i>.) <i>Heraclea</i> on the Euxine founded by the Megarians and Bœotians of <i>Tanagra</i>, who reduce the native inhabitants, the <i>Mariandyni</i>, to slavery.</p> <p><i>Anacreon</i> began to be distinguished in Ol. 55. He was later than <i>Sappho</i>. Thirty years after this date he was at the court of <i>Polycrates</i> of <i>Samos</i>. <i>Sappho</i> was contemporary with <i>Pittacus</i> and <i>Alcæus</i>, and flourished in Ol. 42 B. C. 611, in the 7th year of <i>Alyattes</i>.</p>

556	Ol. 56 <i>Phædrus Pharsalius</i> . <i>Euthydemus archon</i> . Chilon ephor at Sparta. Birth of Simonides.
553	Camarina is destroyed 46 years after its foundation. Death of Stesichorus in about his 80th year. He lived in the time of Phalaris, and was contemporary with Sappho Alcæus and Pittacus. He flourished in Ol. 42 or 43.
552	Ol. 57 <i>Ladromus Laco</i> .
549	Death of Phalaris of Agrigentum. He reigned 16 years B. C. 565—549. Phalaris was three generations earlier than Theron and Xenocrates.
548	Ol. 58 <i>Diognetus Crotoniates</i> . <i>Erxiclides archon</i> . The temple at Delphi burnt. Destroyed by accident. The Amphictyons rebuilt it, and Amasis contributed; although it owed its superior splendour to the <i>Alcmæonidæ</i> . Anaximenes flourished. The precise date of the birth and death of Anaximenes cannot be determined. But he was taught by Anaximander and he instructed Anaxagoras; and therefore must have lived to Ol. 74 B. C. 484 or 483.
547	Anaximander æt. 64. He was therefore born B. C. 610, and was about 29 years younger than his master Thales.
546	Sardis taken by Cyrus. Cræsus was 35 years of age at the death of his father. If we place his overthrow in 546, he was born in 595, and began to reign, after the death of his father, in B. C. 560. His birth happened in the 22d year of Alyattes, and in the last year of Cyaxares king of Media. Thales was still living during the war of Cræsus with the Persians. The year of his birth and the exact duration of his life cannot be known. If he was 90 or 91, he was born B. C. 636; if he was 98 or 100, he lived to B. C. 542 or 540. Hipponax flourished in the times of Cræsus and Cyrus.
544	Ol. 59 <i>Archilochus Corcyræus</i> . Pherecydes of Syrus flourished. The preceptor of Pythagoras : Φερεκύδης ὁ Πυθαγόρου καθηγεμὼν Alex. Aphrod. ad Aristot. Met. XIII. 4 p. 800. 24. Pherecydes was born B. C. 600 in the 18th year of Alyattes, and at this time was 56 years of age. Bias of Priene is still living at the conquest of Ionia by the Persians. Theognis of Megara flourished Ol. 59. He survived the Median war B. C. 490, and was near 80 at that date.
540	Ol. 60 <i>Apellæus Eleus</i> .
539	Pythagoras flourished Ol. 60. There are two accounts of the age of Pythagoras, differing from each other nearly 40 years. By one computation he was 31 years of age in B. C.



	<p>539, by another he was near 70. The latter calculation is founded upon Eratosthenes and Antilochus; the former computation is founded upon Aristoxenus and Jamblichus. According to Aristoxenus he was 40 years of age when he quitted the court of Polycrates of Samos; according to Jamblichus he was 57 in B. C. 513, which places his birth at B. C. 570.</p> <p>Hipponax flourished in Ol. 60; and Ibycus. But Ibycus was already known 20 years before, in the beginning of the reign of Cyrus.</p>
538	<p>Babylon taken by Cyrus. The capture of Babylon was after the capture of Sardis, and among the last of the conquests of Cyrus.</p> <p>Xenophanes of Colophon flourished in Ol. 60. Xenophanes, the founder of the Eleatic school, was contemporary with Thales Anaximander and Pythagoras, and the teacher of Parmenides.</p>
536	Ol. 61 <i>Agatharchus Corcyraeus</i> .
535	Thespis first exhibited tragedy. Anacreon is mentioned at Ol. 61.
533	<p><i>Thericles archon</i>.</p> <p>Pythagoras is named at Ol. 61.</p>
532	<p>Ol. 62 <i>Eryxias Chalcideus</i>.</p> <p>Polycrates is tyrant of Samos. He had the assistance of Lygdamis of Naxos, who was made tyrant of Naxos by Pisistratus after his third occupation of Athens. And Athens was recovered for the third time in B. C. 537. Lygdamis then assisted Polycrates after that date: Polycrates acquired naval power soon after his elevation, and his naval power is fixed by Thucydides to B. C. 529. These incidents confirm the elevation of Polycrates where Eusebius has placed it, at B. C. 532.</p>
531	<p>Pythagoras flourished in Ol. 62 in the time of Polycrates of Samos.</p> <p>Anacreon was contemporary with Cyrus, Cambyses, and Polycrates. He was therefore placed by some in Ol. 55 in the beginning of the reign of Cyrus, and by others in Ol. 62 in the reign of Polycrates of Samos. Both are consistent; since Anacreon lived to the age of 85 years.</p>
529	<p>Death of Cyrus, nine years after the conquest of Babylon, 44 years before the accession of Xerxes, and after a reign of 30 years in Persia.</p> <p>The naval empire of the Samians is placed at the Eusebian year 1487 commencing Oct. B. C. 530, agreeing with the reign of Polycrates at B. C. 532, and with the date of Thucydides for his naval power.</p>

527	<p>Death of Pisistratus, 33 years after his first usurpation.</p> <p>Xenophanes according to Apollodorus would be 92 at Ol. 63, and 98 at the 1st year of Darius. But Timæus Plutarch and Athenæus make him still living in the Persian war, and in the reign of Hiero.</p>
525	<p>Cambyzes conquers Egypt in the 5th year of his reign, 6 months after the death of Amasis.</p> <p>War of the Lacedæmonians against Polycrates of Samos.</p> <p>Birth of Æschylus. Anacreon and Simonides come to Athens in the reign of Hipparchus.</p>
524	Ol. 64 <i>Menander Thessalus</i> . <i>Miltiades archon</i> .
523	Chœrilus first exhibited tragedy.
522	Polycrates of Samos put to death.
521	<p>Death of Cambyzes after a reign of 7<sup>y</sup> 5<sup>m</sup>. Smerdis reigns 7<sup>m</sup>. Darius is elected 8 years after the death of Cyrus, and reigns 36y.</p>
520	<p>Ol. 65 <i>Anochas Tarentinus</i>. <i>Additus est τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ὁ δρόμος</i>.</p> <p>The historians Hecataeus and Dionysius Milesius flourished. Pythagoras is mentioned at Ol. 65. He settled in Italy in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus.</p> <p>Melanippides flourished in Ol. 65. His grandson the younger Melanippides flourished in the reign of Perdiccas B. C. 430.</p>
519	<p>The Platæans put themselves under the protection of Athens.</p> <p>Birth of Cratinus the comic poet.</p>
518	<p>Pindar born in Ol. 65 at the time of the Pythian games. Born therefore in Ol. 65. 3 August or September B. C. 518.</p>
516	Ol. 66 <i>Ischyros Himeræus</i> .
515	(Miltiades son of Cimon succeeds his brother Stesagoras in the government of the Chersonese. Before the death of Hipparchus. He remained in this government at least 22 years.)
514	<p>Death of Hipparchus at the time of the <i>Panathenæa magna</i>. Hipparchus therefore was slain in Hecatombæon Ol. 66. 3 July or August B. C. 514.</p>
513	<p>First year of Hippias completed in July or Aug. 513. Naval empire of the Lacedæmonians in the year 1503 from Oct. B. C. 514.</p>
512	<p>Ol. 67 <i>Phanas Pelleneus</i> στάδιον, δίαυλον, ὄπλον. Second year of Hippias completed in Hecatombæon.</p>

511	<p>Third year of Hippias completed in Hecatombæon 511. Phrynichus the tragic poet, the disciple of Thespis, is victor in Ol. 67.</p>
510	<p>Expulsion of the Pisistratidæ before the 4th year of Hippias was completed; and therefore before Hecatombæon 510. And yet within 20 years of the battle of Marathon; consequently not sooner than Boedromion or September. To reconcile this we must suppose that the contest was of some duration. The authority of Hippias was dissolved in Hecatombæon, but he did not withdraw from Athens till after Boedromion. The Pisistratidæ were expelled 18 years after the death of Pisistratus, and about the 100th year before the constitution of the Four Hundred.</p> <p>Amyntas reigns in Macedonia.</p> <p>Pythagoras at the expulsion of the Tarquins is 96 years old according to Eratosthenes and Antiochus, and died at 99 soon after. According to other accounts he is now 60, and, if he lived to 99, would survive till B. C. 472. But although the dates of his birth and death are wholly uncertain, yet all authorities agree that he flourished B. C. 540—510 in the times of Polycrates and Tarquinius Superbus.</p> <p>Telesilla of Argos the poetess flourished, and defended Argos in a war in the times of Cleomenes and Demaratus kings of Sparta.</p>
508	<p>Ol. 68 <i>Isomachus Crotoniates</i>. <i>Isagoras archon</i>. Institution of the χορὸς ἀνδρῶν at Athens.</p>
504	<p>Ol. 69 <i>Isomachus Crotoniates II</i>. <i>Acestorides archon</i>. Charon of Lampsacus flourished. A historian older than Herodotus.</p>
503	<p>Heraclitus flourished in Ol. 69. He was later than Pythagoras Xenophanes and Hecataeus, whom he mentioned. According to Aristotle he died at the age of 60 years. Parmenides also flourished in Ol. 69. His master was Xenophanes, and he taught Empedocles and Zeno. He legislated for his native city Elea, and his instructions were diffused over all Magna Græcia.</p> <p>Lasus of Hermione was contemporary with Simonides, and was the instructor of Pindar. Prior in time to the younger Melanippides. He conversed with Xenophanes and flourished in the reign of Hipparchus at Athens, and in the reign of Darius.</p>
502	<p>Naval empire of the Eretrians in the Eusebian year 1514 commencing Oct. B. C. 503.</p> <p>Democritus Heraclitus Anaxagoras are named at Ol. 69. Pindar, Pyth. X <i>Hippocleæ Thessalo</i>.</p>



501	<p>The Naxian war about the spring. Naxos is besieged 4 months. Upon the failure of this attempt, Aristagoras determined to revolt, while the armament returning from Naxos yet lay at Myus.</p> <p>Hecataeus the historian assisted at the deliberations of the Ionians in 501. He is mentioned again at the flight of Aristagoras in 497, whom he advised to occupy a fort in the island of Leros. The advice was not taken, and Aristagoras perished in Thrace.</p>
500	<p>Ol. 70 <i>Nicias Opuntius. Myrus archon.</i></p> <p>Aristagoras solicits aid from Sparta and Athens.</p> <p>Birth of Anaxagoras. He died in B. C. 428.</p> <p>Epicharmus perfected comedy in Sicily long before Chionides exhibited at Athens, and continued to exhibit comedy in the reign of Hiero. He lived to the age of 97 or 90 years. Epicharmus the comic poet was the same person as Epicharmus the Pythagorean philosopher. See F. H. II p. xxxviii g.</p>
499	<p>Sardis burnt by the Ionians. First year of the Ionian war. The Ionians are pursued and defeated near Ephesus; after which the Athenians withdraw from the confederacy.</p> <p>The death of Pythagoras is reported in the Eusebian year 1517 from Oct. B. C. 500. By one computation he would be 71 at this date, by the other 106. The duration of his life is as variously reported as the time of his birth. He is 80 in Heraclides Lembus, but 90 by the more general account. Others make him 99 or 104. According to Jamblichus he presided in his school 39 years, and lived near 100 years.</p> <p>Æschylus æt. 25 first exhibits in Ol. 70. He contends with Pratinas and Chœrilus.</p>
498	<p>Second year of the Ionian war. Cyprus recovered by the Persians.</p>
497	<p>Aristagoras slain in Thrace in the third year of the war.</p>
496	<p>Ol. 71 <i>Tisicrates Crotoniates. Hipparchus archon.</i></p> <p>Fourth year of the Ionian war. Histiaeus after the death of Aristagoras comes down to the coast.</p> <p>Birth of Hellanicus.</p>
495	<p><i>Philippus archon.</i> Fifth year of the war. Towards the end of this year preparations are made for the assault of Miletus. But the naval armament did not put to sea till the following spring; for B. C. 494 was the first year of the naval operations, followed by winter quarters near Miletus.</p> <p>Birth of Sophocles.</p>
494	<p><i>Pythocritus archon.</i> Last year of the war. The confederates are defeated in a naval action near Miletus, which is</p>

	<p>taken in the sixth year of the war. <i>Æaces</i> son of <i>Syloson</i> and nephew of <i>Polycrates</i> is restored by the Persians to the tyranny of <i>Samos</i>.</p> <p><i>Pindar</i>, <i>Pyth. VI Xenocrati Agrigentino</i>.</p>
493	<p><i>Themistocles archon</i>. <i>Miltiades</i>, while the Phœnician fleet lay at <i>Tenedos</i>, retired from the Chersonese to <i>Athens</i>, at least 22 years after he had occupied it upon the death of his brother <i>Stesagoras</i>.</p>
492	<p><i>Ol. 72 Tisicrates Crotoniates II. Diognetus archon</i>.</p> <p>First Persian armament under <i>Mardonius</i>, in the year before <i>Darius</i> sent to demand earth and water from the Greeks. The storm at mount <i>Athos</i> is said to have happened in the year before the beginning of the second expedition under <i>Datis</i>.</p>
491	<p><i>Hybrilides archon</i>. <i>Darius</i> sends messengers to Greece. <i>Cleomenes</i> is still king of <i>Sparta</i>. <i>Demaratus</i> is deposed and succeeded by <i>Leotychides</i>. War of <i>Athens</i> and <i>Ægina</i>. <i>Gelon</i> becomes master of <i>Gela</i>.</p>
490	<p><i>Phænippus archon</i>. Second armament under <i>Datis</i> and <i>Artaphernes</i>. Battle of <i>Marathon</i>, 10 years before the expedition of <i>Xerxes</i>, and in the 5th year before his accession, on the 6th of <i>Boedromion</i>. The Spartans were solicited for aid on the 9th day of the moon. They marched after the full moon, arrived in 3 days, and were too late for the battle. They would arrive on the 18th day of the moon. The 6th of <i>Boedromion</i> then was later than the 9th day of the moon, and the civil month did not correspond at <i>Athens</i> with the course of the moon.</p> <p><i>Æschylus</i> is present at <i>Marathon</i> æt. 35.</p>
489	<p><i>Aristides archon</i>.</p> <p><i>Panyasis</i> the poet, the uncle of <i>Herodotus</i>, flourished. He might be 30 years older than his nephew, began to be distinguished in 489, continued in reputation till <i>Ol. 78 B.C. 467</i>, and was put to death by <i>Lygdamis</i> about 457.</p>
488	<p><i>Ol. 73 Astyalus Crotoniates. Anchises archon</i>.</p>
487	<p>Three years of preparation after the battle of <i>Marathon</i>. <i>Chionides</i> first exhibits, 8 years current before the expedition of <i>Xerxes</i>. <i>Dinolochus</i> flourished in <i>Ol. 73</i>. <i>Pindar</i> and <i>Simonides</i> are named at this date.</p>
486	<p>Revolt of <i>Egypt</i>; in the 4th year after the battle of <i>Marathon</i>, and the year before the death of <i>Darius</i>.</p>
485	<p><i>Philocrates archon</i>. Accession of <i>Xerxes</i> in the 5th year after the battle of <i>Marathon</i>, and 5 years before the expedition against Greece in 480. <i>Gelon</i> becomes master of <i>Syra-</i></p>

	<p>cuse in this year, because he reigned 7 years and was succeeded in the 8th by Hiero in B. C. 478. Naval empire of the Æginetæ in the Eusebian year 1531 commencing Oct. B. C. 486.</p> <p>Epicharmus continues to write comedy at Syracuse in Ol. 73, six years before the Persian war. When Evetes Euxenides and Mylus exhibit at Athens.</p>
484	<p>Ol. 74 <i>Astyalus Crotoniates II. Leostratus archon.</i></p> <p>Egypt is recovered in the beginning of the 2nd year of Xerxes.</p> <p>Birth of Herodotus. Æschylus gains the prize in tragedy. Pindar. Ol. X. XI <i>Agesidamo Locrensi.</i> Birth of Achæus of Eretria the tragic poet.</p>
483	<p><i>Nicodemus archon.</i> Ostracism of Aristides. He was still in exile at the battle of Salamis, but returned and commanded the Athenian forces at Plataea 12 months afterwards. Recalled therefore between those two actions.</p> <p>Phrynichus and Chœrilus flourished in Ol. 74. Chœrilus had now exhibited tragedy 40 years, Phrynichus near 30 years.</p>
481	<p><i>Themistocles archon.</i> Fourth year after the recovery of Egypt, completed in spring B. C. 481. Xerxes in the autumn arrives at Sardis, where he winters.</p>
480	<p>Ol. 75 <i>Astyalus Crotoniates III. Calliades archon.</i></p> <p>Actions at Thermopylæ and Artemisium at the time of the Olympic games. Salamis at the time of the Mysteries, in the autumn. Victory of Gelon at Himera, at the time of the battle of Salamis.</p> <p>Pherecydes of Athens the historian flourished. He continued in reputation till B. C. 454, about 26 years. Anaxagoras æt. 20 begins his career of philosophy at Athens. He remained there 30 years. He had been taught by Anaximenes, who must therefore have lived till Ol. 74, which implies a term of 64 or 65 years from his <i>acme</i> in Ol. 58 to his death, and Anaximenes must have lived nearly 90 years.</p> <p>Birth of Euripides. Pindar at the battle of Salamis had lately entered his 39th year.</p>
479	<p><i>Xanthippus archon.</i> Mardonius occupies Athens 10 months after its occupation by Xerxes in 480. Battles of Plataea and Mycale in September. Siege of Sestos in the autumn, which surrenders in the following spring in 478.</p> <p>Antipho the Rhamnusian born about the year of Calliades, or Ol. 75. 1, within B. C. <math>4\frac{8}{7}\frac{0}{9}</math>.</p> <p>Birth of Chœrilus probably in Ol. 75. He was younger than Herodotus, resided at Samos in the time of Lysander B. C. 404, and was received at the court of Archelaus, where he died before B. C. 399.</p>



478	<p><i>Timosthenes archon.</i> Hiero succeeds Gelon at Syracuse, 11<sup>y</sup> 8<sup>m</sup>.</p> <p>The history of Herodotus terminates at the siege of Sestos in the spring of 478.</p> <p>Pindar. Pyth. XI <i>Thrasydæo puero Thebano</i>. Pyth. IX <i>Tele-sicrati Cyrenæo</i>.</p>
477	<p><i>Adimantus archon.</i> Commencement of the Athenian empire, 45 years before the Peloponnesian war, 65 before the ruin of the Athenian affairs in Sicily, and in the 73rd before the capture of Athens by Lysander.</p> <p>Xenophanes is still living in the reign of Hiero according to Timæus, Plutarch, and Athenæus. It seems that there were two accounts of his time, one adopted by Apollodorus, and another pointed out by these writers. Xenophanes, whatever was his time, lived in exile in Sicily.</p> <p>(Epicharmi <i>Nāσοι</i>, at least as late as B. C. 477.)</p>
476	<p>Ol. 76 <i>Scamander Mytilenæus</i>. <i>Phædon archon.</i> Death of Anaxilaus of Rhegium. He was reigning in 494, and in 480 he procured the assistance of the Carthaginians for his father-in-law Terillus of Himera against Theron. Hiero married the daughter of Anaxilaus. Scyros is taken by Cimon in the archonship of Phædon. The second action of the Athenians after their accession to the command.</p> <p>Phrynichus victor in tragedy about 35 years after his first prize in Ol. 67. Simonides æt. 80 gains the prize <i>ἀνδρῶν χορῶ</i>. Pindar. Ol. XIV <i>Asopicho Orchomenio</i>.</p>
475	<i>Dromoclides archon.</i>
474	<p><i>Acestorides archon.</i> Naval victory of Hiero over the Tuscans; alluded to by Pindar. Pyth. I.</p> <p>Pindar. Pyth. III <i>Hieronî</i>. Pyth. I <i>Hieronî</i>.</p>
473	<i>Menon archon.</i>
472	<p>Ol. 77 <i>Dandes Argivus</i>. <i>Chares archon.</i></p> <p>Death of Theron of Agrigentum, towards the end of 472 or beginning of 471, after a reign of 16 years.</p> <p>Pythagoras is 99 according to Aristoxenus and Jamblichus, whose accounts place his birth at 570 and his death in his 99th year in 472. He died at Metapontum. His school subsisted 9 or 10 generations, down to the time of Aristoxenus B. C. 320. These include Pythagoras himself from B. C. 570, about 250 years.</p> <p>Æschyli Persæ. Pindari Ol. II <i>Theroni Agrigentino</i>. Ol. XII <i>Ergoteli</i>.</p>
471	<p><i>Praxiergus archon.</i> Themistocles is banished by ostracism, six years after the Athenians had succeeded to the command, and five years before his flight to Persia in 466. He withdrew</p>

	<p>to Argos, and resided there when the treason of Pausanias was discovered. During his exile the plans of Pausanias were communicated to him.</p> <p>Birth of Thucydides.</p> <p>Timocreon of Rhodes the lyric poet flourished in the time of Themistocles, after whose exile one of his satires was written.</p>
470	<i>Demotion archon.</i>
469	<i>Apsephion archon.</i> Pericles begins to have a share in public affairs, 40 years before his death.
468	<p>Ol. 78 <i>Parmenides Posidoniates.</i> <i>Theagenides archon.</i></p> <p>Mycenæ destroyed by the Argives. Death of Aristides, about 4 years after the banishment of Themistocles.</p> <p>Birth of Socrates, in April or May B. C. 468. First tragic victory of Sophocles æt. 27.</p>
467	<p><i>Lysistratus archon.</i> The sons of Anaxilaus of Rhegium receive possession of their inheritance. Death of Hiero.</p> <p>Birth of Andocides the orator. His great-grandfather Leogoras had a share in the expulsion of the tyrants in 510. His grandfather Andocides assisted in negotiating the 30 years' truce in 445.</p> <p>Death of Simonides, æt. 90.</p> <p>Panyasis flourished in Ol. 78.</p>
466	<p><i>Lysanias archon.</i> Thrasybulus of Syracuse is expelled eleven months after the death of Hiero, and the Syracusans held their liberty almost 60 years. Siege of Naxos. During the siege Themistocles passed through the Athenian fleet. Battles at the Eurymedon, after the reduction of Naxos and before the revolt of Thasos.</p> <p>Diagoras of Melos flourished. Pindar. Pyth. IV. V <i>Arce-silao Cyrenæo.</i></p>
465	<i>Lysitheus archon.</i> Revolt of Thasos. Death of Xerxes. Soon after his death Themistocles arrived in Persia in 465, during the influence of Artabanus, by whom he was introduced to Artaxerxes. Alexander king of Macedonia is still living.
464	<p>Ol. 79 <i>Xenophon Corinthius.</i> <i>Archidemides archon.</i></p> <p>Revolt of the Helots at the time of an earthquake at Sparta. The war lasted 10 years. Cimon with 4000 men marched to the aid of the Lacedæmonians.</p> <p>Charon of Lampsacus still wrote history after the death of Xerxes. He was employed in history 40 years. Zeno of Elea flourished.</p> <p>Pindar. Ol. XIII <i>Xenophonti Corinthio.</i> Ol. VII <i>Diagoræ Rhodio.</i></p>

463	<p><i>Tlepolemus archon.</i> The Thasians are reduced in the third year.</p> <p>Xanthus of Lydia still continued to write history in the reign of Artaxerxes. He published history before Herodotus, who profited by Xanthus.</p>
462	<p><i>Conon archon.</i> Third year of the Messenian war.</p>
461	<p><i>Euthippus archon.</i> Conon marches a second time to assist the Lacedæmonians.</p>
460	<p>Ol. 80 <i>Tyrymmas Thessalus.</i> <i>Phrasicles archon.</i> Revolt of Inarus, and first year of the war in Egypt.</p> <p>Birth of Democritus, 40 years younger than Anaxagoras.</p> <p>Birth of Hippocrates.</p> <p>Pindar. Ol. VIII <i>Alcimedonti puero.</i></p>
459	<p><i>Philocles archon.</i> Sixth year of the Messenian war. Second of the war in Egypt.</p> <p>Gorgias flourished. A little older than Antipho, who was now in his 20th year. Gorgias taught Polus and Pericles, Isocrates and Alcidas, Alcibiades and Critias.</p>
458	<p><i>Bion archon.</i> Seventh year of the Messenian, third of the Egyptian war.</p> <p>Birth of Lysias, a little before midsummer B.C. 458, and 22 years before the birth of Isocrates.</p> <p>Æschyli Agamemnon, Choephor, Eumenides, Proteus satyricus.</p>
457	<p><i>Mnesithides archon.</i> Battles in the Megarid between the Athenians and Corinthians, and campaign of the Lacedæmonians in Doris. In their return they are intercepted by the Athenians, who are now in possession of the passes of the Isthmus. The battle of Tanagra followed, after which the Lacedæmonians retired into Peloponnesus. Eighth year of the Messenian, fourth of the Egyptian war.</p> <p>Panyasis is put to death by Lygdamis, about the time of the removal of Herodotus from Halicarnassus.</p>
456	<p>Ol. 81 <i>Polymnastus Cyrenæus.</i> <i>Callias archon.</i> Sixty-two days after the battle of Tanagra (which happened about Nov. 457) the Athenians marched into Bœotia and gained the battle of Cænophyta. Cimon is recalled from exile. The Athenians complete their long walls, between the battle of Cænophyta and the campaign of Tolmides. The work was begun in 457 about the time of the actions in the Megarid.</p> <p>Herodotus æt. 28 Thucydides æt. 15. Herodotus recited his history at the Olympic games, when Thucydides was a boy. Probably in Ol. 81, or not later than Ol. 82, when Thucydides was 19.</p> <p>Death of Æschylus æt. 69.</p>



455	<p><i>Sosistratus archon.</i> Campaign of Tolmides. He gave Naupactus to the expelled Messenians. Therefore his campaign was in the year in which Ithome surrendered, which was in the 10th year of the war B.C. 455.</p> <p>End of the Egyptian war. When Tolmides sailed, the Athenians still held out. The war of six years therefore lasted till this year and began in 460. All Egypt was reduced by the Persians except the marshes under Amyrtæus, who 6 years after this date, at the time of the death of Cimon, was still engaged in hostilities against the Persians, and who, 40 years after this period, in the 10th year of Darius Nothus, recovered Egypt. His son Pausiris governed Egypt after him.</p> <p>Empedocles and Parmenides, Zeno and Heraclitus are named in Ol. 81. Heraclitus could scarcely have been still living; Parmenides in old age was heard by Socrates when a youth, and therefore lived beyond this period; Empedocles had studied with Zeno under Parmenides, and had known Xenophanes; Zeno instructed Pericles, and flourished with Empedocles through the whole of this period to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. According to Aristotle, Zeno was the inventor of logic and Empedocles of rhetoric.</p> <p>Euripides æt. 25 began to exhibit tragedy. His first play was the <i>Peliades</i>.</p>
454	<p><i>Ariston archon.</i> Campaign of Pericles at Sicyon and in Acarnania, in the 23rd year before the Peloponnesian war.</p>
453	<p><i>Lysicrates archon.</i></p> <p>Aristarchus of Tegea the tragic poet flourished in Ol. 81. Contemporary with Euripides, he composed 70 plays, gained 2 victories, and lived more than 100 years. Cratinus is named at this year; he followed Magnes, who came between Epicharmus and Cratinus. Cratinus is now 65 years of age, and must have applied to comedy late in life.</p>
452	<p>Ol. 82 <i>Lycus Larissæus.</i> <i>Chærephanes archon.</i> Pindar. Ol. IV. V <i>Psaumidi Camarinæo.</i></p>
451	<p><i>Antidotus archon.</i></p> <p>Ion of Chios began to exhibit tragedy.</p>
450	<p><i>Euthydemus archon.</i> First year of the five years' truce in the beginning of 450. This truce was made through the intervention of Cimon, who had been banished towards the end of 461 and recalled in the beginning of 456.</p> <p>Anaxagoras æt. 50 withdrew from Athens, after residing there 30 years. His disciples had been Archelaus Euripides and Pericles. During this absence of Anaxagoras from Athens, Archelaus, the first Athenian who taught philosophy at Athens, taught Socrates. Anaxagoras might quit Athens in the 30th year current, before April or May 450, when Socrates com-</p>

	<p>pleted his 18th year. Socrates in his youth visited Samos with Archelaus.</p> <p>Crates the comic poet and Bacchylides flourished. Crates intervened between Cratinus and Aristophanes. Bacchylides was the nephew of Simonides and the rival of Pindar, who alludes to him in Ol. 77.</p>
449	<i>Pedieus archon.</i> Death of Cimon, and victory of the Athenians at Salamis in Cyprus.
448	Ol. 83 <i>Crison Himeræus.</i> <i>Philiscus archon.</i> (Cratini Archilochi. Soon after the death of Cimon.)
447	<p><i>Timarchides archon.</i> Battle of Coronea towards the autumn. Tolmides and Clinias the father of Alcibiades fell in the action. Clinias had commanded a trireme at Artemisium, 33 years before. These disasters in Bœotia produced the revolt of Eubœa and Megara, about 18 months afterwards in Anthestersion of 445, and the Peloponnesian invasion of Attica upon the expiration of the truce of five years.</p> <p>Achæus and Sophocles exhibit tragedy. Achæus is 36 years old, 4 years older than Euripides. He excelled in satyrical pieces in the opinion of his countryman Menedemus of Eretria.</p>
446	<i>Callimachus archon.</i>
445	<i>Lysimachides archon.</i> Revolt of Eubœa and Megara. Pleistoanax led an army into Attica 14 years before the Peloponnesian war. These events happened about February. Pericles returns to Eubœa and recovers the whole island. Then followed the 30 years' truce, concluded before the end of Munychion B. C. 445.
444	<p>Ol. 84 <i>Crison Himeræus II.</i> <i>Praxiteles archon.</i></p> <p>Pericles begins to have the sole direction of affairs. The Athenian citizens are reduced upon a scrutiny to 14,240 or 14,040. The disfranchised citizens, being 4760, or near 5000, made the former numbers 19,000. This original number, the women and children being added, gave 78,243, and the 14,240 gave 58,640 for the population, exclusive of μέτοικοι and slaves</p> <p>Melissus, the disciple of Parmenides and Heraclitus, flourished. Protagoras and Empedocles flourished.</p>
443	<p><i>Lysanias archon.</i> The Athenians send a colony to Thurium, conducted by Lampon.</p> <p>Herodotus æt. 41 went to Thurium, and Lysias æt. 15 with his elder brother Polemarchus.</p>
442	<p><i>Diphilus archon.</i></p> <p>Gorgiæ περὶ φύσεως.</p>

441	<i>Timocles archon.</i> Euripides æt. 38 gains the first prize in tragedy.
440	Ol. 85 <i>Crison Himeræus III.</i> <i>Myrichides archon.</i> The Athenians besiege Samos by sea and land. The war was carried on with 200 ships. The cost was 1000 or 1200 talents. Melissus defends Samos against Pericles. Sophocles æt. 55, soon after the representation of the Antigone, serves in the Samian war. A decree to prohibit comedy.
439	<i>Glaucines archon.</i> Samos surrenders in the ninth month. Pindar by some accounts completed his 80th year, which would terminate at August or September B. C. 438.
438	<i>Theodorus archon.</i> Euripidis <i>Cressæ</i> , <i>Alcmæon</i> διὰ ψωφίδος, <i>Telephus</i> , <i>Alcestis</i> .
437	<i>Euthymenes archon.</i> Colony of Agnon to Amphipolis. The prohibition of comedy after subsisting three years is repealed.
436	Ol. 86 <i>Theopompus Thessalus.</i> <i>Lysimachus archon.</i> The Propylæa commenced at Athens. Birth of Isocrates about Hecatombæon.
435	<i>Antilochides archon.</i> Sea-fight of the Corinthians and Corcyræans. Democritus and Hippocrates æt. 25, Zeno of Elea, Protagoras, Empedocles, and Prodicus of Ceos the disciple of Protagoras, are all living in Ol. 86.
434	<i>Chares archon.</i> Preparations of Corinth. Lysippus the comic poet gains a prize.
433	<i>Apseudes archon.</i> Corcyræan embassy to Athens.
432	Ol. 87 <i>Sophron Ambraciotes.</i> <i>Pythodorus archon.</i> Sea-fights off Corcyra in the spring. Revolt of Potidæa from Athens about midsummer. Congress at Sparta in the autumn. Andocides the orator commands the ships which aid the Corcyræans. Anaxagoras, after his second visit to Athens, is prosecuted for impiety, at the time of the prosecution of Aspasia and Phidias. He withdrew to Lampsacus, where he died about 4 years afterwards. Hermippus the comic poet prosecutes Aspasia. <i>Calliæ γραμματικὴ τραγῳδία.</i> Before the <i>Medea</i> and <i>Theseus</i> of Euripides.
431	<i>Euthydemus archon.</i> The Thebans attempt Plataea in Munychion. Invasion of Attica, 80 days after, in Hecatombæon. An eclipse Aug. 3. The Athenians form an alliance with Sitalces king of Thrace.



	<p>The 14th year of the 30 years' truce was completed in the beginning of Munychion or April B. C. 431.</p> <p>Hellanicus æt. 65 Herodotus æt. 53 Thucydides æt. 40. Hippocrates flourished; now about 28 years of age.</p> <p>Euripidis <i>Medea Philoctetes Dictys Theristæ satyri</i>.</p> <p>Aristomenes began to exhibit comedy, upwards of 40 years.</p>
430	<p><i>Apollodorus archon</i>. Second invasion of Attica. Plague at Athens. The Peloponnesians in this campaign remained 40 days in Attica.</p> <p>Hermippus the comic poet ridiculed Pericles after the first invasion of Attica. Bacchylides, who was already known as a poet in 472, is still living according to Eusebius.</p>
429	<p><i>Epameinon archon</i>. Potidæa surrenders upon conditions towards the close of the second year of the war, before the end of Munychion 429. The siege lasted more than two years, and had cost the Athenians 2000 talents. Naval actions in the Corinthian gulf, in the summer. Phormio is the commander in these actions. Death of Pericles in the autumn. He first began to act in public affairs in 469, and had the sole direction from about 444. Cleon acquires influence in public affairs after the death of Pericles. March of Sitalces against Perdiccas.</p> <p>Birth of Plato in May.</p> <p>Eupolis æt. 17 and Phrynichus exhibit comedy. Phrynichus was still living in 405.</p>
428	<p>Ol. 88 <i>Symmachus Messenius</i>. <i>Diotimus archon</i>. Dorieus of Rhodes is Olympic victor in the Pancratium Ol. 87, Ol. 88, Ol. 89. He was put to death by the Lacedæmonians in the time of Conon, after his capture by the Athenians in B. C. 406.</p> <p>Third invasion of Attica. Revolt of all Lesbos except Methymne. Mytilene is besieged towards the autumn.</p> <p>Death of Anaxagoras æt. 72 at Lampsacus.</p> <p>Euripidis <i>Hippolytus στεφανηφόρος</i>. Euripides has the first prize, Iophon the second, Ion the third.</p> <p>The first exhibitions of Plato the comic poet may be placed here. He was contemporary with Aristophanes, Phrynichus, Eupolis, Pherecrates.</p>
427	<p><i>Euclēs archon</i>. Fourth invasion of Attica. Lesbos recovered. Surrender of Platæa. Sedition at Corcyra in this summer. The Athenians send assistance to the Leontines in Sicily.</p> <p>Gorgias is ambassador from Leontium to Athens. He was older than Antipho, and might be now nearly 60 years of age. He was still living in the time of Jason of Pheræ in 380. Gorgias lived 105, 107, 108, or 109 years. He speaks of himself as having lived more than 100 years. He was therefore in reputation nearly 80 years, from Ol. 80 to B. C. 380.</p>

	<p>He might have been born about B. C. 485 and have died soon after B. C. 380.</p> <p>First comedy of Aristophanes, who gains the second prize with the <i>Δαιταλείς</i>. The actors in his pieces were Callistratus for the political dramas, and Philonides for the satires upon Euripides and Socrates. Callistratus was still living in B. C. 411, Philonides in 405. Araros son of Aristophanes was the actor in the second <i>Plutus</i> in 388.</p>
426	<p><i>Euthynus archon</i>. The Athenians are victorious in an action at Tanagra. Lustration of Delos.</p> <p>Aristophanis <i>Babylonii</i>. (Hermippi <i>Φορμοφόροι</i>. Before the death of Sitalces, and during the alliance of Sitalces with Athens. Therefore within B. C. 431—424.)</p>
425	<p><i>Stratocles archon</i>. Fifth invasion of Attica. But Agis retired in 15 days. Sphacteria is invested, and surrenders in 72 days to Cleon. Eruption of Etna in the spring.</p> <p>Aristophanes gains the first prize with the <i>Acharnians</i>, Cratinus the second with the <i>Χειμαζόμενοι</i>, Eupolis the third with the <i>Νουμηνίαι</i>.</p>
424	<p>Ol. 89 <i>Symmachus Messenius II</i>. <i>Isarchus archon</i>. Cythera occupied by the Athenians. March of Brasidas through Thessaly into Thrace. He arrived before Acanthus a little before the time of vintage, and took Amphipolis from Thucydides. Battle of Delium towards the end of 424. Hermocrates rises into notice in the affairs of Sicily in the summer. Death of Sitalces at the time of the battle of Delium.</p> <p>Xenophon is present at Delium.</p> <p>Aristophanes gains the first prize with the <i>Equites</i>; Cratinus the second with the <i>Satyri</i>; Aristomenes the third with the <i>Υλοφόροι</i>.</p>
423	<p><i>Ameinias archon</i>. The 8th year of the war ended towards the end of Munychion. Truce for a year from the 14th of Elaphebolion. Thespiæ destroyed by the Thebans. The temple of Juno is burnt at Argos.</p> <p>Alcibiades seems to have already begun to act in public affairs. He is ridiculed in the <i>Vespæ</i> in 422. He had been noticed in the <i>Acharnians</i> in 425, and even in the <i>Δαιταλείς</i> in 427; from whence it appears that he had already spoken in public in 427, and was at that date 20 years of age at the least. At this time he is at least 25; for he was left an orphan by the death of his father in 447, and had a younger brother Clinias. Alcibiades then was at least 45 at his own death in 404.</p> <p>Thucydides was 20 years in exile after his command at Amphipolis. He passed a part of his exile at Scapte Hyle in Thrace.</p> <p>Antiochus of Syracuse brought down his history to this date.</p>

	Cratinus gains the first prize with the <i>Πυρίνη</i> . Amipsias is victorious with the <i>Connus</i> . Aristophanes failed with the <i>Nubes priores</i> . Cratinus died æt. 97 soon after his victory. (The ἀσπράρευτοι of Eupolis.)
422	<p><i>Alceus archon</i>. The truce ended, and hostilities were renewed till the Pythian games. Deaths of Cleon and Brasidas towards the end of summer, in Metagitnion. Followed by a disposition to peace.</p> <p>The Athenian citizens are at this time computed at 20,000. They were 19,000 in 444 before the Scrutiny. They are called "about 20,000" in 331, and are found upon actual enumeration to be 21,000 in 317. By citizens are to be understood all the male Athenians above the age of 20 years; which will give 82,360 for the whole population (exclusive of μέτοικοι and slaves), when the citizens are 20,000.</p> <p>Protagoras the sophist comes to Athens (his second visit) between March 423 and spring 421.</p> <p>Aristophanes gains the first prize with the <i>Vespæ</i>. Leucon the third with the <i>Πρέσβεις</i>. Aristophanis <i>Nubes secundæ</i>. Death of Cratinus, perhaps after the termination of the truce in Elaphebolion. See 423.</p>
421	<p><i>Aristion archon</i>. Truce for 50 years concluded Ap. 10 B. C. 421.</p> <p>Eupolis exhibits the <i>Maricas</i> a few months after the death of Cleon. He also gains the first prize with the <i>Κόλακες</i>, Aristophanes the second with the <i>Pax</i>, Leucon the third with the <i>Φράτορες</i>.</p> <p>Ion of Chios is now dead.</p>
420	<p>Ol. 90 <i>Hyperbius Syracusanus</i>. <i>Astyphilus archon</i>. Alcibiades effects a treaty between the Athenians and Argives.</p> <p>Pherecratis Ἀγριοι. Eupolidis <i>Autolycus</i>.</p>
419	<i>Archias archon</i> . Alcibiades in Peloponnesus.
418	<i>Antiphon archon</i> . Victory of the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea. In August, a little before the <i>Carnea</i> .
417	<i>Euphemus archon</i> . The 14th year of the war ended.
416	<p>Ol. 91 <i>Exagentus Agrigentinus</i>. <i>Arimnestus archon</i>. The 15th year ended in Munychion. Melos surrenders in the winter.</p> <p>Plato in his 14th year. Agatho gains the tragic prize.</p>
415	<i>Chabrias archon</i> . The expedition sails to Sicily at midsummer. Recall of Alcibiades after midsummer. This first campaign in Sicily was in the 17th year of the war.



	<p>Andocides is imprisoned on the mutilation of the Hermæ. After his escape from that danger, he visited Cyprus and other countries till the time of the 400 B. C. 411.</p> <p>Xenocles first with the <i>Œdipus</i>, <i>Lycaon</i>, <i>Bacchæ</i>, <i>Athamas satyricus</i>. Euripides second with the <i>Alexander</i>, <i>Palamedes</i>, <i>Troades</i>, <i>Sisyphus satyricus</i>. Archippus the comic poet gains his single prize in Ol. 91.</p>
414	<p><i>Pisander archon</i>. Second campaign in Sicily. Arrival of Gylippus in summer. Eurymedon sails from Athens with supplies in December. Perdiccas king of Macedonia is still living at the end of summer 414.</p> <p>Aristophanes exhibits the <i>Amphiaraus</i>. Ameipsias gains the first prize with the <i>Κωμασταί</i>, Aristophanes the second with the <i>Aves</i>, Phrynichus the third with the <i>Μονορόπος</i>.</p>
413	<p><i>Cleocritus archon</i>. The 18th year ends in Munychion. Invasion of Attica in spring. Third campaign in Sicily. Demosthenes arrives with succours in the course of the summer. Eclipse of the moon Aug. 27. Flight of the army. Surrender of Nicias 16 or 17 days after the eclipse.</p> <p>Hegemonis Thasii <i>Gigantomachia</i>, on the day on which news arrived of the defeat in Sicily, Sept. or Oct. 413. Hegemon was contemporary with the latter years of Cratinus, and was the first who introduced parody upon the stage. He was protected by Alcibiades.</p>
412	<p>Ol. 92 <i>Exagentus Agrigentinus II</i>. <i>Callias archon</i>.</p> <p>Lesbos Chios and Erythræ prepare to revolt before the spring. Mission of Alcibiades by the Lacedæmonians to Asia immediately after the Isthmian games. First treaty between Lacedæmon and Persia in the summer. After Alcibiades had arrived in Ionia the Athenians recur to the deposit of 1000 talents. Second treaty between Lacedæmon and Tissaphernes.</p> <p>Antipho, who had a share in the constitution of the 400, was born about B. C. 479, about 12 years older than Andocides, 21 older than Lysias, 8 older than his pupil Thucydides, and 68 at his death in 411.</p> <p>Euripides exhibits the <i>Helena</i> and the <i>Andromeda</i>.</p>
411	<p><i>Theopompus archon</i>. Third treaty between Lacedæmon and Tissaphernes, about February 411, in the 13th year of Darius. Constitution of the 400, 99 years after the expulsion of Hippias. They held the government 4 months, and quitted it after midsummer.</p> <p>Mindarus is sent to succeed Astyochus while the 400 were in possession of the government. He is defeated at Cynossema towards the end of the summer, a little after the 400 had been deposed.</p>

	<p>Lysias, during the time of the 400, returns from Thurium to Athens. Antipho is put to death. Thucydides brings down his narrative to the autumn of 411. Xenophon and Theopompus continue the history.</p> <p>Aristophanes exhibits the <i>Lysistrata</i> and <i>Thesmophoriazusæ</i>.</p>
410	<p><i>Glaucippus archon</i>. Mindarus is defeated and slain at Cyzicus by Alcibiades, before midsummer 410. A negotiation for peace follows in consequence of that defeat. Three winters intervene between the defeat of Mindarus and the return of Alcibiades to Athens.</p>
409	<p><i>Diocles archon</i>. Thrasyllus in the beginning of summer 409 sails to Samos, enters Lydia when the corn is ripe; and after the campaign his forces winter at Lampsacus.</p> <p>Herodotus æt. 75 is still engaged upon his history; for he mentions not only the recovery of the Medes by Darius, which happened in this year, but the death of Amyrtæus and the succession of Pausiris. Amyrtæus seems to have recovered Egypt in 414, to have reigned 6 years, and to have died in 408; which brings down the narrative of Herodotus to 408. Plato æt. 20 begins to hear Socrates.</p> <p>Sophocles gains the first prize with the <i>Philoctetes</i>.</p>
408	<p>Ol. 93 <i>Eurotas Cyrenæus</i>. <i>Polydamas Scotussæus pancratium</i>. <i>Addita est biga, vicitque Evagoras Eleus</i>. <i>Euctemon archon</i>.</p> <p>The Athenians move from Lampsacus in spring 408. Alcibiades takes Selymbria and Byzantium. Pharnabazus hears of the capture, being at Gordium in the winter. The winter of 40<math>\frac{6}{7}</math>.</p> <p>Euripidis <i>Orestes</i>. Aristophanis <i>Plutus prior</i>.</p>
407	<p><i>Antigenes archon</i>. Cyrus is sent down to the coast in the beginning of spring 407. Alcibiades returns to Athens on the day of the <i>Plynteria</i>, and remains till the <i>Mysteries</i>, from 25th Thargelion to 20th Boedromion, nearly 4 months. Immediately afterwards he proceeded to the siege of Andros. During the stay of Alcibiades at Athens Lysander was sent as admiral. Then followed the defeat of Antiochus, the deposition of Alcibiades, and the substitution of ten other commanders, between Sept. 407 and Sept. 406, when Callicratidas succeeded Lysander.</p> <p>(Strattidis Ἀνθροπορραΐστης. Sannyrionis <i>Danae</i>.)</p>
406	<p><i>Callias archon</i>. Sea-fight off Arginusæ. Followed by the <i>Apaturia</i> in Pyanepsion. Condemnation of the generals. After the battle a proposition for peace was made, which was a second time prevented by the demagogue Cleophon, five years after the former negotiations in 410. We have</p>

the authority of Aristotle for the second negotiation, and of Philochorus for the first. The propositions were the same in both, because the Lacedæmonians had in both the same object. The terms which satisfied them in 410 after the defeat of Mindarus would have satisfied them in 406 after the defeat at Arginusæ. That Cleophon was the obstacle on both occasions is attested by Aristotle and Philochorus.

Agrigentum is taken by the Carthaginians after a siege of 7 months in Nov. or Dec. B. C. 406, and after that event Dionysius becomes master of Syracuse in December 406. He reigns 38 years.

Hellanicus relates the events of this year, and the battle of Arginusæ. Whence we collect that his life was extended to more than 90 years. Philistus is active in the party of Dionysius. During the latter years of the elder Dionysius Philistus lived in exile, and was not recalled till after the accession of the younger. He was slain in 356. The first part of his Sicilian History ended at the siege of Agrigentum. The second part contained the reign of Dionysius, and seems to have ended at B. C. 367, where his history of the younger Dionysius began.

Death of Euripides æt. 75. On the same day on which Dionysius assumed the tyranny. The expense of dramatic exhibitions is divided between two *choregi*. But no immediate change was made in the number of the prizes, which still remained three for comedy, although it might reduce the number of competitors from 10 to five.

405

*Alexias archon.* Battle of Ægospotami a few months before the capture of Athens, in the autumn of B. C. 405. Conon after the defeat of the Athenian fleet fled to Evagoras to Cyprus. According to Xenophon only nine ships escaped; but a client of Lysias who was present in the action affirms that 12 ships were saved.

(Democritus in his travels visited Persia in the reign of Darius. He passed 5 years in Egypt towards the end of the reign of Darius.)

Death of Sophocles at the age of 90 years. He survived Euripides and died before the exhibition of the *Ranæ*. Euripides died towards the end of B. C. 406; Sophocles in the beginning of 405. Aristophanes about Feb. B. C. 405 gains the first prize with the *Ranæ*, Phrynichus the second with the *Musæ*, Plato the third with the *Cleophon*. Iophon son of Sophocles is still living. Antimachus flourished.

404

Ol. 94 *Crocinas Larissæus.* *Pythocritus archon.*

Athens is taken by Lysander in the spring, in Munychion of B. C. 404. The Thirty govern for 8 months. Death of



Alcibiades during the tyranny of the Thirty. He was now at the least 45 years of age, and had been engaged in public affairs more than 20 years. Thrasybulus occupies Phyle and advances to the Piræus in December, when the 8 months of the Thirty terminate. But the contest is continued for some time after their deposition.

Lysias banished in the time of the Thirty. He withdrew to Megara. Andocides is in exile and chiefly resident in Elis during the whole period from the Four Hundred to the return of Thrasybulus. During this exile he visited Cyprus, Syracuse, and perhaps other countries; some before the time of the Four Hundred; Syracuse after the accession of Dionysius; consequently in this latter exile.

Birth of Antiphanes the comic poet. He was born B. C. 404, began to exhibit about 383, and died æt. 74 in 330.

From the several heads of expenditure enumerated by a client of Lysias within March B. C. 410 and May 402 we learn the relative charges of certain exhibitions: tragædis 3000 *dr.*, choro virorum 2000. Pyrrhichistis 800. Dionysiis, ἀνδράσι 5000. cyclico choro 300. puerorum choro 1500. comædis 1600. Panathenæis minoribus Pyrrhichistis ἀγε-  
velois 700 *dr.*

403 *Euclides archon.* A marked epoch in the civil history of Athens. Thrasybulus and his party carry on the war against the Ten the successors of the Thirty during many months. But they were in possession of Athens before Hecatombæon or July B. C. 403, although the contest was not finally concluded till Boedromion. The war therefore lasted ten months, from Posideon 404 to Boedromion 403. An act of oblivion or amnesty is dated 12th Boedromion 403.

Thucydides æt. 68 returns from exile. He was still employed upon his history after the conclusion of the war. Andocides came to Athens, confiding in the amnesty. Lysias returns. Lysiaë in *Eratosthenem*. Soon after the expulsion of the Thirty. Law of Aristophon the Azenian ὅς ἀν μὴ ἐξ ἀστῆς γένηται νόθον εἶναι. The same law had been passed by Pericles more than 40 years before, but was relaxed towards the end of his life, out of tenderness to Pericles himself. It was now reenacted by Aristophon. Aristophon was still living in B. C. 354.

402 *Micon archon.* Andocides after his return takes a share in the conduct of affairs. Among the leading orators are Cephalus and Archinus. Cephalus appeared for Andocides in the cause *de Mysteriis* B. C. 400. He flourished during a long course of years with Callistratus and Aristophon the Azenian. Archinus is mentioned by Plato and by Æschines.

Cephisodorus gains the prize in comedy.

401	<p><i>Xenænetus archon.</i> Expedition of Cyrus. He set out from Sardis before midsummer, was slain at Cunaxa in the autumn, and the Greeks reached Armenia in the winter. Samius was the Lacedæmonian admiral when Cyrus set forth.</p> <p>First year of the war of Lacedæmon and Elis.</p> <p>Xenophon accompanied Cyrus on his march. If he was present at Delium 23 years before, he might be about 42 at the time of the Anabasis. Ctesias the historian flourished B. C. 401—384.</p> <p>Sophoclis <i>Œdipus Coloneus</i>, exhibited by his grandson Sophocles son of Ariston. Telestes gains a dithyrambic prize.</p>
400	<p>Ol. 95 <i>Menon Atheniensis.</i> <i>Laches archon.</i> Return of the Greeks. They arrive at Cotyora 8 months after the battle, remain there 45 days, and reach Chrysopolis after midsummer 400. When they reached Chrysopolis, Anaxibius was admiral. When they entered the service of Scuthes, Polus had succeeded Anaxibius. The Cyrean army remained with Scuthes nearly two months. Second year of the war of Lacedæmon and Elis.</p> <p>Andocidis <i>De Mysteriis.</i> Three years after his return from exile. He is at this time about 67 years of age.</p>
399	<p><i>Aristocrates archon.</i> Thimbron commands in Asia. He had already sailed from Peloponnesus when the Cyreans were with Scuthes. The campaign of Thimbron was therefore in the summer of this year. The Cyreans, after their service with Scuthes, were incorporated with the troops of Thimbron. Dercyllidas superseded Thimbron before the Elean war was ended, which terminated in this year. Thrasydæus the Elean, who concluded the peace in behalf of his countrymen, was the friend of Lysias, and had assisted Thrasymbulus in 404.</p> <p>Death of Socrates at the end of Thargelion 399, when he had just entered his 70th year.</p> <p>Plato æt. 30 withdrew to Megara.</p> <p>Meletus the tragic poet, the accuser of Socrates, was mentioned in the <i>Γεωργοί</i> of Aristophanes, 14 years before the death of Socrates, and might be at this time between 30 and 40 years of age.</p>
398	<p><i>Ithycles archon.</i> Dercyllidas, after having wintered in Bithynia, comes with the spring B. C. 398 to Lampsacus. While he is there, commissioners meet him to prolong his command. He makes a truce with Pharnabazus, passes into the Chersonese, where he builds a wall, returns into Asia and besieges Atarnæ for 8 months. Then he moves to Ephesus. The siege of Atarnæ must have been begun before the rampart in the Chersonese was finished; for,</p>

although the siege lasted 8 months and was followed by quarters at Ephesus, yet he had in the next campaign reached the Vale of Mæander before the summer of 397.

Ctesias brought his Persian History down to this year B. C. 398. A history in 23 books, beginning from Ninus. He also wrote *Indica*, a separate work.

Astydamas first exhibits tragedy. He was the son of Mor-simus and grandson of Philocles, and studied under Isocrates.

Philoxenus of Cythera, Timotheus of Miletus, Telestes of Selinus, and Polyidus, dithyrambic poets, flourished. Philoxe-nus died in 380, Timotheus in 357.

397 *Suniades archon.* Dercyllidas receives orders to invade Caria. He meets Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes in the Vale of Mæander, when the corn was grown, and concludes an armistice with Tissaphernes.

396 Ol. 96 *Eupolemus Eleus.* *Additus est tibicen, vicitque Timæus Eleus, additus etiam præco, vicitque Acrates Eleus.* *Phormion archon.* Agesilaus passes with an army from Aulis to Ephesus. His first campaign in Asia began with a truce of three months with Tissaphernes, and ended with winter quarters at Ephesus.

(Birth of Xenocrates.)

Sophocles grandson of Sophocles first exhibits in his own person. He had exhibited in 401 in the name of his grand-father.

395 *Diophantus archon.* Agesilaus, when the spring appeared, prepared for his second campaign in Asia. About the same time, that is, in the spring, the first year of his command expired. He gains a victory near Sardis. Tithraustes is sent to supersede Tissaphernes. Mission of Timocrates into Greece. Agesilaus with the autumn penetrates into Phrygia and Paphlagonia. Lysander is slain at Haliartus in the 30th year after the battle of Delium B. C. 324. Agesilaus mean-while is wintering at Dascylium.

Plato æt. 34 returns to Athens. He served in the battle of Corinth in 394. Plato had passed the three or four preceding years, 399—395, in travels in Italy Cyrene and Egypt.

394 *Eubulides archon.* Agesilaus, when the spring had almost appeared, withdraws from the satrapy of Pharnabazus. He was recalled when he had already completed his second year. He passed the Hellespont about midsummer, and was at the entrance into Bœotia Aug. 14 B. C. 394.

Battle near Corinth. News of it met Agesilaus at Amphi-polis. It happened therefore about midsummer. Battle of Cnidus a few days *before* the eclipse, battle of Coronæa a few days *after* the eclipse (which happened Aug. 14). Agesilaus



	<p>immediately after the action is removed to Delphi in Aug. or Sept. 394.</p> <p>Xenophon accompanied Agesilaus in his march to Bœotia, and, a sentence of banishment being passed upon him at Athens, withdrew under Lacedæmonian protection to Scillus, where he composed his works. Theopompus ended his <i>Hel-lenica</i> at this year, in XII books describing 17 years B.C. 411—394. (Lysiæ <i>Mantitheo δοκιμαζομένῳ apologia</i>, after B. C. 394, and perhaps before the death of Thrasybulus.) (Strattidis <i>Ποράμιοι</i>.)</p>
393	<p><i>Demostratus archon</i>. Sedition at Corinth and battle of Lechæum. The third victory of the Lacedæmonians. Pharnabazus, with Conon, in the spring after the battle of Cnidus, ravages the coast of Peloponnesus. The long walls of Athens are restored in 393. After the departure of Pharnabazus, Teleutias in the bay of Corinth cooperates with Agesilaus in Corinthia.</p> <p>Speusippus and Diogenes flourished.</p> <p>Xenarchus the mimographus son of Sophron flourished at the court of Dionysius during the Rhegian war B. C. 399—387.</p>
392	<p>Ol. 97 <i>Terinæus Eleus</i>. <i>Philocles archon</i>.</p> <p>Agesilaus again leads an army into the Corinthian territory; at the season of the Isthmian games, in the summer season, before the Hyacinthia. Iphicrates routed the Lacedæmonian <i>mora</i>. This action happened before the Hyacinthia. Agesilaus conducted the survivors home.</p> <p>Aristophanis <i>Ecclesiazusæ</i>.</p>
391	<p><i>Nicoteles archon</i>. Expedition of Agesilaus into Acarnania. He withdrew in the autumn.</p> <p>Andocidis <i>de Pace</i>. Andocides was banished for advising this negotiation, and died in exile.</p> <p>Plato the comic poet exhibits the <i>Phaon</i>.</p>
390	<p><i>Demostratus archon</i>. Agesilaus prepares a second expedition, but is prevented by the submission of the Acarnanians. Expedition of Agesipolis into Argolis.</p> <p>Ten Athenian ships were sent to Cyprus, to the aid of Evagoras, and captured by Teleutias. After this event, Thrasybulus is sent out with 40 ships to oppose Teleutias. He is slain at Aspendus, during the command of Teleutias. Perhaps in the beginning of 389.</p>
389	<p><i>Antipater archon</i>. After the death of Thrasybulus, which happened in the archonship of Demostratus, and perhaps in the beginning of 389, Agyrrhius is sent as his successor to Aspendus, and Iphicrates to the Hellespont.</p>

	<p>Plato in his 40th year made the first of his three voyages to Sicily. (Birth of Æschines about this time.)</p>
388	<p>Ol. 98. <i>Sosippus Delphus</i>. <i>Pyrrhion archon</i>.  Hierax Lacedæmonian admiral. While he is at Rhodes, Antalcidas is sent out as admiral. At the time of the command of Antalcidas Iphicrates is still at the Hellespont. Antalcidas sends Nicolochus to oppose him; who is besieged at Abydos by Iphicrates and his colleagues. When Antalcidas returned to the coast in the spring of 387, he found Nicolochus still besieged by Iphicrates and Diotimus.  At the time of the appointment of Antalcidas, Chabrias sailed to Cyprus to the aid of Evagoras.  <i>Lysiæ Olympiaca</i>. <i>Lysiæ pro Aristophanis bonis</i>.  Aristophanis <i>Plutus alter</i>, Nicocharis <i>Lacones</i>, Aristomenis <i>Admetus</i>, Nicophontis <i>Adonis</i>, Alcæi <i>Pasiphae</i>. Araros son of Aristophanes was the actor in the second <i>Plutus</i>; he was the poet or διδάσκαλος in the two remaining plays of his father, the <i>Cocalus</i> and <i>Æolosicon</i>, and presented them in his own name.  In the year of the <i>Ranæ</i> there were three comic prizes, but no mention is now made of the second and third, and the 10 choragi supply only 5 competitors, who are all named in the register.</p>
387	<p><i>Theodotus archon</i>. Peace of Antalcidas about autumn 387. Evagoras of Cyprus is excepted out of the treaty.  Callisthenes the historian began his <i>Hellenica</i> from this year. He described in 10 books 30 years B. C. 387—357.</p>
386	<p><i>Mystichides archon</i>. Restoration of Plataea.</p>
385	<p><i>Dexitheus archon</i>. Siege of Mantinea by Agesipolis about spring, and about 18 months after the peace of Antalcidas.  Great sea-fight between Evagoras and the Persians. Androtion, a pupil of Isocrates, begins to engage in public affairs.</p>
384	<p>Ol. 99 <i>Dicon Syracusanus</i>. <i>Additur πώλων ἄρμα, vicitque Eurybates Laco</i>. <i>Diotrephes archon</i>.  Ctesias remained till this time in Persia. See 401.  <i>Lysiæ in Theomnestum</i>. Birth of Aristotle.</p>
383	<p><i>Phanostratus archon</i>. Antiphanes began to exhibit comedy. He still wrote comedy in 343, and probably in 330.</p>
382	<p><i>Evander archon</i>. First campaign of the Olynthian war early in the year. Phœbidas seizes the Cadmea in summer at the time of the <i>Pythia</i>. After that event Teleutias marched to Olynthus, and yet his march was before the summer ended.  Amyntas is at this time king of Macedonia.  Birth of Demosthenes in July B. C. 382. He had com-</p>

	pleted his 16th year in June 366, was reckoned 18 about July 364, and is called 60 at his death in October 322.
381	<i>Demophilus archon.</i> Second campaign of the Olynthian war in spring. Teleutias slain before midsummer.
380	Ol. 100 <i>Dionysodorus Tarentinus.</i> <i>Pytheas archon.</i> Third campaign of the Olynthian war. Agesipolis takes the command, probably in the beginning of 380. During the absence of Agesipolis Agesilaus besieges Phlius. Death of Agesipolis at midsummer 380. Polybiades is sent to succeed him. Evagoras in Cyprus is pressed by the Persians, in the 6th year after the great sea-fight in which he had been defeated. <i>Isocratis Panegyrica.</i> Death of Philoxenus æt. 55. See 398.
379	<i>Nicon archon.</i> Polybiades finishes the Olynthian war. Phlius surrenders after a siege of 20 months. The Cadmea is recovered by the Theban exiles in the winter, towards the close of B. C. 379. Cephalus the orator moves the decree at Athens for assisting the Theban exiles, after the recovery of the Cadmea.
378	<i>Nausinicus archon.</i> Cleombrotus marches into Bœotia in the middle of winter. Attempt of Sphodrias on the Piræus. Expedition of Agesilaus into Bœotia. Death of Lysias æt. 80.
377	<i>Callias archon.</i> Second expedition of Agesilaus into Bœotia, in the spring. At the end of this campaign the Thebans had been for two years deprived of the produce of their soil by the enemy.
376	Ol. 101 <i>Damon Thurius.</i> <i>Charisander archon.</i> Third campaign, with the spring, Cleombrotus being in the command. During his command, Chabrias gained the victory at Naxos in September 376. Phocion, now about 27 years of age, was distinguished in this battle. Tenth and last year of the war between Evagoras and Artaxerxes. Demosthenes is left an orphan in his 7th year. Anaxandrides the comic poet flourished.
375	<i>Hippodamas archon.</i> The Lacedæmonians send Cleombrotus to oppose the Thebans in Phocis. Polydamas of Thessaly comes to Sparta while Cleombrotus is still in Phocis. Hermeias of Methymne ends his <i>Sicelica</i> in 10 or 12 books at B. C. 375. Eubulus exhibited comedy in Ol. 101. He still continued to write in the time of Callimedon ὁ Κάραβος. Araros first exhibits. He had already been introduced as the actor in the second Plutus in 388. The middle comedy begins from Ol. 99—101.



374	<p><i>Socratides archon.</i> The Athenians, jealous of the Thebans, make peace with Sparta, and Timotheus is ordered home. But, as he returns at the end of this year from Corcyra, he sets on shore the Zacynthian exiles, which produced a renewal of war between Athens and Lacedæmon.</p> <p>Plataea is destroyed about the summer of 374. Death of Evagoras.</p> <p>Isocratis <i>Plataica</i>. Plato and Xenophon are named at the Eusebian year 1643 commencing in Oct. B. C. 374.</p>
373	<p><i>Asteius archon.</i> Timotheus is appointed to oppose Mnasippus at Corcyra, but before he sails is superseded by Iphicrates, who on his arrival at Corcyra finds that Mnasippus had been slain, having besieged Corcyra for more than two months. Callistratus and Chabrias are the colleagues of Iphicrates. He arrived and conducted the war after midsummer 373. Trial of Timotheus in November 373. Callistratus the orator and Iphicrates are the prosecutors. He is supported by Jason of Pheræ and Alcetas, by whose influence he is acquitted.</p>
372	<p>Ol. 102 <i>Damon Thurius II. Alcisthenes archon.</i> Timotheus goes to Asia in May 372. Iphicrates still continues in the command of a fleet in the Ionian sea, till the congress held at Sparta in the beginning of 371.</p> <p>Among the most eminent orators at Athens are Leodamas, Callistratus, Aristophon the Azenian, Cephalus the Colyttian, Thrasybulus the Colyttian, Diophantus. Leodamas was already grown up in 404, and still lived in 355.</p> <p>The younger Astydamas, the fifth descendant of a sister of Æschylus, gains the prize in tragedy.</p>
371	<p><i>Phrasielides archon.</i> Congress at Sparta. Thebes excluded from the treaty. Victory of the Thebans at Leuctra in July 371. There were 20 days between the treaty and the battle. Megalopolis is founded in the year of the battle of Leuctra. Perhaps in January 370.</p> <p>Callistratus and Melanopus the orators are present at the congress at Sparta. Iphicratis oratio περί τῆς Ἰφικράτους εἰκόνης πρὸς Ἀρμόδιον.</p>
370	<p><i>Dyscinetus archon.</i> Agesilaus is sent into Arcadia, after the restoration of Mantinea, and after the foundation of Megalopolis. He was in the Mantinean territory in the winter, when the Thebans were expected. The winter therefore of the archon Dyscinetus. Jason of Pheræ is slain a little before the Pythian games, Aug. or Sept. B. C. 370.</p> <p>Democritus is now in his 90th year.</p>
369	<p><i>Lysistratus archon.</i> First invasion of Laconia. The Thebans enter Laconia while it was still midwinter. They remained three months in Laconia, and it was still winter when they re-</p>

	<p>tired. The whole duration of their stay in Peloponnesus was four months. Epaminondas in this expedition had an army of 70,000 men, of whom 40,000 were <i>Hoplitæ</i>. The Messenians were restored during this first expedition. After the Thebans were withdrawn, the Athenians complete the treaty with Lacedæmon.</p> <p>Polyphron of Phæræ is slain, having ruled a year. Alexander succeeds, 11 years.</p>
368	<p>Ol. 103 <i>Pythostratus Ephesius</i>. <i>Nausigenes archon</i>. The Thebans enter Peloponnesus in the spring; for the Syracusan succours, who received pay for five months' service, went home at the end of summer. Embassy on the part of the king of Persia to negotiate a peace. But the Thebans would not consent that Messenia should be held by Sparta.</p> <p>Eudoxus flourished.</p> <p>Aphareus began to exhibit tragedy. In 28 years B. C. 368—341 he produced 37 or 35 tragedies.</p>
367	<p><i>Polyzelus archon</i>. The second body of succours comes to Sparta from Dionysius. When their time of service was expired, Archidamus gained the <i>tearless battle</i>. Embassy of Pelopidas to Persia, <i>after</i> the victory of Archidamus, and <i>before</i> the march of Epaminondas into Achaia, which was in consequence of its failure. Death of the elder Dionysius, after Feb. B. C. 367.</p> <p>Aristotle in his 18th year comes to Athens. He remains with Plato 20 years, till the death of Plato in 347.</p> <p>Dionysius gained the tragic prize with the <i>λύτρα Ἑκτορος</i>. He died soon after this tragic victory.</p>
366	<p><i>Cephisodorus archon</i>. Expedition of Epaminondas into Achaia after the return of the embassy from Persia. Oropus seized by the exiles. After which, a defensive alliance is concluded between Athens and Arcadia. After this treaty, Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes.</p> <p>Isocratis <i>Archidamus</i>. Demosthenes <i>ἐδοκιμάσθη</i>. Ten years after the death of his father.</p>
365	<p><i>Chion archon</i>. War of Arcadia and Elis.</p> <p>Diodorus at this date names Isocrates, Aristotle, Anaximenes of Lampsacus, Plato, Xenophon (now in extreme old age), Aristippus, Antisthenes, and the last of the Pythagoreans.</p>
364	<p>Ol. 104 <i>Phocides Atheniensis</i>. <i>Timocrates archon</i>. Second campaign of the war of Arcadia and Elis. Archidamus invades Arcadia, the Arcadians Elis; and with the Pisatæ assume the presidency at this Olympiad; which is therefore omitted in the Elean register. Battle of Olympia at the time of the games.</p> <p>In Ol. 103 the Eleans had 12 tribes and 12 Hellanodicæ;</p>

	<p>but in this war they lost to the Arcadians a part of their territory and their tribes. Hence they are reduced to 8 tribes and 8 Hellanodicæ.</p> <p>Isæi περὶ τοῦ Φιλοκλήμονος κλήρου. Isæus, the preceptor of Demosthenes, flourished after the Peloponnesian war, and lived till the reign of Philip. Demosthenis κατὰ Ἀφόβου. At 18 years of age, in August or Sept. B. C. 364.</p>
363	<p><i>Chariclides archon.</i></p> <p>Philistus ends his history of the first five years of the younger Dionysius B. C. 367—362 in two books. The remaining 7 years of the reign of Dionysius 362—356 were described by Athanis of Syracuse, who wrote the acts of Dion in 13 books, and added in one book those 7 years of Dionysius, which Philistus had omitted.</p>
362	<p><i>Molon archon.</i> Fourth expedition of Epaminondas into Peloponnesus. Battle of Mantinea in June 362.</p> <p>The Hellenics of Xenophon end at the death of Epaminondas. The first part of the Hellenics of Anaximenes in 12 books, beginning at the Theogony, ended also at the same period. Æschines æt. 27 is present at Mantinea. Aristophon the Azenian, who flourished B. C. 403—355, has a leading influence at this time at Athens. He cultivated the Theban alliance. The Azenian however and the Colyttian were partly contemporary.</p>
361	<p><i>Nicophemus archon.</i> A general peace, in which the Messenians were included. The Lacedæmonians not consenting to this were alone excepted from the treaty. Thus the Theban confederacy had gained their great object by establishing an effectual check to the power of Lacedæmon, and by securing the independence of Messenia.</p> <p>Birth of Dinarchus. Callistratus is in exile in the beginning of the year of Nicophemus. He is conveyed from Methone to Thasos in November 361.</p>
360	<p>OI 105 <i>Porus Cyrenæus.</i> <i>Callimedes archon.</i></p> <p>Timotheus is repulsed at Amphipolis.</p> <p>Theopompus commenced his history from the year of this archon;—His <i>Philippics</i> in 58 books. (Isæi περὶ τοῦ Ἀγνίου κλήρου.)</p>
359	<p><i>Eucharistus archon.</i> Accession of Philip æt. 23 in the beginning of 359. His first campaign is in the spring and summer of that year. He defeats Argæus at Methone before midsummer, declares Amphipolis a free city, and after midsummer makes peace with the Athenians. Being delivered from this enemy he attacks and defeats the Pæonians, and gains a great victory over the Illyrians.</p> <p>Alexander of Pheræ is slain about the middle of 359. He</p>



	<p>was succeeded by Tisiphonus, who governed when Xenophon was recording the death of Alexander. Xenophon himself died at Corinth, but the year is uncertain. At this date he is about 83 or 84 years of age.</p>
358	<p><i>Cephisodotus archon.</i> Philip after his victory over the Illyrians takes Amphipolis. At the time when Amphipolis is pressed by Philip, an Athenian expedition is undertaken by the advice of Timotheus into Eubœa. Timotheus died about 4 or 5 years after.</p> <p>Isæi ἐπὲρ Εὐμαθοῦς.</p>
357	<p><i>Agathocles archon.</i> The Social war began, before midsummer. Siege of Chios by Chares and Chabrias. Death of Chabrias.</p> <p>The Phocians seize Delphi. Dion sails from Zacynthus after an eclipse, which fell upon Aug. 9 B. C. 357, and lands in Sicily about September.</p> <p>Death of Democritus æt. 104, and of Hippocrates, also æt. 104. Demophilus son of Ephorus began his history of the Sacred war, Diyllus his history in 27 books, from the year of Agathocles. Callisthenes ended his <i>Hellenica</i> in 10 books at the same year.</p> <p>Death of Timotheus of Miletus æt. 90. See 398.</p>
356	<p>Ol. 106 <i>Porus Cyrenæus II. Elpines archon.</i></p> <p>Birth of Alexander at the time of the Olympic games, on the 6th of Hecatombæon 356, when Philip had just taken Potidæa.</p> <p>Second campaign of the Social war. Philistus is defeated and slain at Syracuse. Dionysius expelled in the summer 356, 10 months after the landing of Dion. Philistus had been an eyewitness of the defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse in 415, and had been an actor in public affairs in 406.</p> <p>Isocratis <i>de Pace.</i> Callistratus, who had been in exile about 5 years (see 361), had founded a city in Thasos, noticed by Scylax p. 204 Zenobius Adag. IV. 34 p. 315 Himerius Or. 6 p. 498. Upon his returning to Athens he was put to death.</p> <p>Alexis flourished. He might write comedy from B. C. 364 to 306.</p>
355	<p><i>Callistratus archon.</i> Third campaign of the Social war. Chares, Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Menestheus are sent with a fleet. Peace is concluded with the confederates about midsummer 355. Mausolus of Caria assisted the allies against Athens in this war.</p> <p>Isocrates vel Aphareus περὶ ἀντιδόσεως πρὸς Μεγακλείδην. Eubulus the orator promoted the peace with the confederates. Aristophon the Azenian and Chares prosecute Iphicrates for his failure in the last campaign, who was acquitted.</p> <p>Demosthenis æt. 27 <i>Androtionea.</i> Demosthenis <i>Leptinea.</i></p>

	Aristophon the Azenian and Leodamas assisted Leptines, both now advanced in age. See 372.
354	<i>Diotimus archon.</i> Trial and condemnation of Timotheus. He retired to Chalcis and died towards the end of 354. <i>Demosthenis de Symmoriis.</i>
353	<i>Eudemus archon.</i> Death of Dion before midsummer. Philip seized upon Pagasæ and began the siege of Methone in the archonship of Diotimus. <i>Isocratis περὶ ἀντιδόσεως πρὸς Λυσίμαχον.</i> Composed in his 83rd year at the close of the archonship of Diotimus. ( <i>Isocratis Areopagitica.</i> ) <i>Demosthenis Timocratea.</i> <i>Demosthenis pro Megalopolitanis</i> ; perhaps in the beginning of 352.
352	<i>Ol. 107 Micrinas Tarentinus. Aristodemus archon.</i> Lycophron of Pheræ calls in Onomarchus, who is defeated and slain by Philip. Lycophron surrenders Pheræ and joins Phayllus. Philip after the defeat of Onomarchus and the liberation of Pheræ attempts to pass Thermopylæ but is prevented by the Athenians. These transactions happened in one campaign, the spring summer and autumn of 352. War of Lacedæmon and Megalopolis. The Athenians in the archonship of Aristodemus send 2000 colonists to Samos. They held possession of Samos for about 30 years, when they were expelled by Perdiccas after the death of Alexander. <i>Demosthenis Philippica I.</i> <i>Demosthenis Aristocratea.</i> Cydias the orator dissuaded the division of the lands of Samos. Theodectes of Phaselis the tragic poet contends with Isocrates Theopompus and Naucrates for the prize of oratory given by Artemisia in honour of her husband. Theodectes composed 50 dramas, and in 13 poetical contests obtained 8 prizes. Erinna the poetess flourished.
351	<i>Thessalus archon.</i> <i>Demosthenis pro Rhodiorum libertate.</i>
350	<i>Apollodorus archon.</i> Expedition of Phocion into Eubœa, and battle of Tamynæ (at which Æschines the orator was present), in Anthesterion B. C. 350. The Athenians had been invited by Plutarch of Eretria to oppose Philip, but Plutarch deceived or betrayed them, and was vanquished by Phocion. <i>Demosthenis adversus Bæotum de nomine,</i> in the middle of B. C. 350. <i>Demosthenis pro Phormione.</i> Demosthenes in his 32nd year is <i>choragus</i> at the <i>Dionysia magna</i> of the archon Thessalus in the spring of B. C. 350.
349	<i>Callimachus archon.</i> Olynthian war, after midsummer. The first expedition under Chares to assist the Olynthians seems to have been concluded in October B. C. 349.

	<p>Demosthenis <i>Olynthiacæ tres</i>. Eubulus is of the party opposed to Demosthenes.</p> <p>There are still three annual festivals of Bacchus, at which dramatic pieces were exhibited. 1 Dionysia in Piræo or κατ' ἀγροῦς, in <i>Posideon</i>. 2 Lenæa, or τὰ ἐν Λίμναις, in <i>Anthesterion</i>. 3 Magna, or ἐν ἄστει or τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, in <i>Elaphebolion</i>. At this time the expense of tragic exhibitions was less than of the χορὸς ἀνδρῶν.</p>
348	<p>Ol. 108 <i>Polycles Cyrenæus</i>. <i>Theophilus archon</i>.</p> <p>The Olynthian war continues. Philip had shut up the Olynthians within their walls before the war had lasted a year. While he is engaged at Olynthus, the <i>Olympia</i> were celebrated. The Eleans, who were 12 tribes in Ol. 103, and in Ol. 104 were reduced to 8 tribes, are now augmented to 10, and appoint 10 <i>Hellandicæ</i>.</p> <p>Demosthenis <i>Midiana</i>. Eubulus assisted Midias, and possessed great influence.</p> <p>Heraclides the comic poet flourished.</p>
347	<p><i>Themistocles archon</i>. Olynthus taken by Philip, at some interval after the Olympic games, for many intermediate transactions occurred; and not long before the first embassy of the 10 Athenians. And that embassy, which made all possible haste, returned early in 346, a little before the <i>Dionysia</i> at which Antipater and Parmenio were present. Olynthus then surrendered in spring 347. After the capture Philip celebrated <i>Olympia</i> at Dium.</p> <p>Death of Plato in May 347, æt. 81 or 82. Aristotle after the death of Plato went to Atarnæ. Speusippus succeeded Plato.</p> <p>(Demosthenis <i>adversus Bæotum de dote</i>. Demosthenis <i>adversus Pantænetum</i>.)</p> <p>Anaxandrides the comic poet exhibits at the <i>Olympia</i> at Dium in 347.</p>
346	<p><i>Archias archon</i>. First embassy to treat for peace with Philip, which returned to Athens before the <i>Dionysia Magna</i>, March B. C. 346. Peace between Philip and the Athenians, 19th Elaphebolion. The ambassadors return from the second embassy on the 13th of Sciophorion. Another deputation from Athens to Philip on the 23rd Sciophorion; and Phocis was occupied by Philip a few days after—about the 27th Sciophorion. The towns therefore were dismantled in July or August, and the Phocian war ended at the time of the Pythian games B. C. 346, after a duration of 10 years.</p> <p>Isocratis <i>Philippus</i>. (Demosthenis <i>adversus Eubulidem</i>.) Demosthenis <i>de pace</i>.</p>
345	<p><i>Eubulus archon</i>.</p> <p><i>Æschinis adversus Timarchum</i>. After the embassy in June</p>



	346, and before the cause <i>de falsa legatione</i> , in Aug. or Sept. 343.
344	Ol. 109 <i>Aristolochus Atheniensis</i> . <i>Lyciscus archon</i> . Timoleon sails from Corinth to Syracuse. Aristotle after 3 years' stay at Atarnæ went to Mytilene. Demosthenis <i>Philippica II</i> .
343	<i>Pythodotus archon</i> . Timoleon completed the conquest of Syracuse, and sent Dionysius to Corinth after midsummer. Dionysius is thus finally expelled about August 343, 24 years and upwards after the death of the elder Dionysius. An Athenian expedition is sent into Acarnania to counteract Philip, who was in Acarnania before his Scythian expedition. Demosthenes is sent with other ambassadors, and opposes Philip in Ambracia and Peloponnesus. His colleagues in this mission are Polyeuctus, Hegesippus, Clitomachus, Lycurgus. Demosthenes vel Hegesippus <i>de Halonneso</i> . Demosthenes et <i>Æschines de falsa legatione</i> . Eubulus assisted <i>Æschines</i> . Theopompus in three books of his Philippic History lib. 41—43 described 50 years of Sicilian affairs ending at the expulsion of the younger Dionysius. Antiphanes æt. 61 still exhibits comedy.
342	<i>Sosigenes archon</i> . Expedition of Philip into Thrace. He began this Scythian war in spring 342, passed 10 months in Thrace, and wintered there. Diopithes the Athenian general, the father of Menander, is stationed on the Hellespont. Aristotle comes to the court of Philip. Isocrates æt. 94 began to compose the Panathenaic oration. (Demosthenis <i>in Olympiodorum</i> .) Birth of Menander.
341	<i>Nicomachus archon</i> . Philip is still in Thrace, where he wintered—waiting for the Etesian winds which were in July. He had now been engaged nearly 13 years in views against the Greeks; that is, from the 7th year of his reign in 353. Birth of Epicurus. Demosthenis <i>de Chersoneso</i> . In the spring of 341. Demosthenis <i>Philippica III</i> . <i>Philippica IV</i> . Aphareus exhibits tragedy till this year. See 368.
340	Ol. 110 <i>Anticles Atheniensis</i> . <i>Theophrastus archon</i> . Philip is engaged in the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium in the year of Theophrastus. He besieged Selymbria at the end of Boedromion of the same archon, B. C. 340. Isocrates æt. 97 completes the Panathenaic oration. Ephorus ends his history at the siege of Perinthus. It began at the Return of the Heraclidæ. Among the leading orators are Eubulus, Aristophon the Colyttian, Hegesippus, Philocrates, Cephisophon.

	Epigenes the comic poet flourished in the time of Pixodarus prince of Caria. Contemporary with Antiphanes.
339	<p><i>Lysimachides archon.</i> The siege of Byzantium still continues, and the Athenians prepare for war. The peace, concluded in March 346, lasted seven years, from Themistocles inclusive to Theophrastus. It comprehended the last months of Themistocles and the first five or six months of Theophrastus, and the six archons who came between them; and extended to the beginning of B. C. 339. Philip raises the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium at the end of the year of Theophrastus.</p> <p>Timoleon defeats the Carthaginians at the river Crimissus.</p> <p>Demosthenis in <i>Philippi epistolam</i>. In the beginning of 339. Diyllus begins the second part of his history where Ephorus ended, and continues the narrative to the death of Philip. Xenocrates succeeded Speusippus. Anaxarchus the companion of Alexander flourished.</p>
338	<p><i>Chærondas archon.</i> Philip is chosen general of the Amphictyons Feb. 338, and occupies Elatea in Scirophorion. Decree of Demosthenes for proposing an alliance with the Thebans. On the 7th Metagitnion Philip defeats their army at Chæronea in August 338. Archidamus was slain in Italy on the same day.</p> <p>Death of Isocrates. He had completed his 98th year, and had finished the Panathenaic oration two years and commenced it five years before.</p>
337	<p><i>Phrynichus archon.</i> Death of Timoleon.</p> <p><i>Lycurgi adversus Lysiclem.</i> (<i>Lycurgi adversus Autolyicum.</i>) Lycurgus was older than Demosthenes. He restored the credit of comic exhibitions at the <i>Lenæa</i> and (probably between B. C. 350—330) enacted honours for the three great tragic poets.</p>
336	<p>Ol. 111 <i>Cleomantis Clitorius.</i> <i>Pythodemus archon.</i></p> <p>Philip is slain and Alexander æt. 20 succeeds about July B. C. 336.</p> <p>Dinarchus æt. 26 began to compose orations.</p> <p>(Amphis seems to have exhibited the <i>Kovpis</i> as late as Ol. 111.)</p>
335	<p><i>Euaenetus archon.</i> Alexander in spring invades the Triballi and Illyrians. While he is engaged in this war, Thebes revolts. Alexander after 12 days' march enters Bœotia and destroys Thebes at the season of the Mysteries, October 335.</p> <p>The orators demanded by Alexander after the destruction of Thebes were Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Polyæuctus, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, Mærocles. In other accounts these are named: Demosthenes, Polyæuctus, Ephialtes,</p>

	<p>Lycurgus, Mærocles, Damon, Callisthenes, Charidemus. Alexander was propitiated by Demades.</p> <p>Philippides the comic poet flourished.</p>
334	<p><i>Ctesicles archon.</i> Alexander passes the Hellespont in spring B. C. 334. Battle of the Granicus in Thargelion. He had conquered Caria before the winter.</p> <p>Aristotle comes to Athens. His treatise on Rhetoric was published after the Chæronensian war.</p>
333	<p><i>Nicocrates archon.</i> Alexander had reached Gordium about the beginning of this campaign. Battle of Issus in November 333.</p> <p>Ephorus the historian mentioned the passage of Alexander into Asia in spring 334. That he survived till the reign of Alexander is attested also by Plutarch.</p> <p>(The oration <i>adversus Theocrinem</i> after the archonship of Pythodemus B. C. 33<math>\frac{1}{2}</math>.)</p> <p>Theodectes was dead when Alexander visited Phaselis in 333. He lived 41 years, probably B. C. 375—334.</p>
332	<p>Ol. 112 <i>Eurylas Chalcideus.</i> <i>Nicetes archon.</i></p> <p>Siege of Tyre begun in the winter. The city is taken in seven months in Hecatombæon, July 332. Alexander founds Alexandria—visits the oracle of Hammon—and returns to Memphis.</p> <p>(Demosthenis <i>adversus Phormionem.</i>)</p> <p>Stephanus the comic poet flourished, the son of Antiphanes.</p>
331	<p><i>Aristophanes archon.</i> Alexander, setting forth from Memphis in the spring, arrives at Thapsacus in July 331. Battle of Arbela October 1. Alexander remains four months of the ensuing winter at Persepolis.</p> <p>About the time of the battle of Arbela, Agis is defeated and slain by Antipater.</p> <p>(Lycurgi <i>adversus Aristogitonem.</i> [Demosthenis] <i>adversus Aristogitonem.</i>)</p> <p>Antiphanes survived this year. His death might happen in the summer of 330.</p>
330	<p><i>Aristophon archon.</i> Darius slain æt. 50 in July 330. After the death of Darius Alexander conquered the country bordering on the Caspian sea, and, after 15 days' halt at Zadracarta, traverses Parthia and Aria, and marches in pursuit of Bessus through the Zarangæi, Drangiana, and Arachosia, when it is now winter. Thence across the mountains of Cabul northwards to Bactra, distant from Zadracarta by this route about 1650 miles.</p> <p>Lycurgi <i>adversus Leocratem.</i> <i>Æschinis adversus Ctesiphontem,</i> Demosthenis <i>de corona.</i> <i>Æschines</i> after his failure withdrew to Asia.</p>



	Philemon began to exhibit comedy during the reign of Alexander, a little earlier than Menander, and before Ol. 113. He lived to the age of 96 or 97, or 99, and exhibited comedy almost 70 years.
329	<i>Cephisophon archon.</i> Sixth campaign of Alexander in Asia. He passes the Oxus to Maracanda, founds Alexandria on the Tanais, about 420 miles north of Bactra. He passes the Tanais and engages the Scythians. After this campaign he wintered at Bactra. (Demosthenis in <i>Dionysodorum</i> .) Epicurus æt. 12 begins to learn philosophy.
328	Ol. 113 <i>Cliton Macedo. Euthycritus archon.</i> Seventh campaign in Asia. The whole of this campaign is employed in Sogdiana, and at the end of it Alexander goes into winter quarters at Nautaca in the middle of the province, about 22 English miles from Samarcand and 230 miles north of Bactra. Crates the cynic flourished in Ol. 113.
327	<i>Hegemon archon.</i> Eighth campaign in Asia. Alexander early in spring of 327 captured Roxana daughter of Oxyartes, and at the end of spring leaving Bactra proceeded on the route to India. He consumed the winter in the country between the Cophen and the Indus.
326	<i>Chremes archon.</i> Ninth campaign in Asia. Early in spring Alexander descended into the plains, crossed the Indus at Taxila, and defeated Porus. It was the summer solstice when they reached the Hyphasis, midsummer B. C. 326. It is still midsummer when they arrive at the Acesines, and the defeat of Porus may be placed at the end of the archonship of Hegemon. (Demadis ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας.) <i>Agen, drama satyricum.</i> Exhibited in the camp of Alexander on the banks of the Hydaspes about the time of the revolt of Harpalus.
325	<i>Anticles archon.</i> The autumn winter and spring of the archon Chremes, and the following summer, are consumed in the navigation down the Indian rivers. Alexander reached the mouth of the Indus a little before the proper season for sailing. He set out on his march about August 325, leaving Nearchus to wait for the winds, and reached Pura on the confines of Carmania in two months. His tenth campaign in Asia. Nearchus began his voyage in October 325—October of the 12th year of Alexander's reign. Demetrius Phalereus began to appear in public affairs about the time of the flight of Harpalus to Athens.
324	Ol. 114 <i>Micinnas Rhodius. Hegesias archon.</i> Alexander, having reached the capital of Gedrosia in Octo-

ber 325, arrives in Susiana, where Nearchus met him about February 324. The whole time consumed in the navigation from the Indus to Diridotis amounted to 129 days.

Proclamation at the Olympic games July 324 for the restoration of the exiles, whose total number from all the states of Greece was more than 20,000.

Death of Hephæstion at Ecbatana. Followed by a winter campaign against the Cossæi. The winter of the archon Hegesias. After that Cossæan war Alexander approached Babylon, which he therefore entered in spring B. C. 323.

Demosthenis *de donis*. Dinarchi *adversus Philoclem*. Dinarchi *adversus Demosthenem de Harpalicis*. Demosthenes being fined 50 talents withdrew to Trœzen and Ægina. Harpalus had fled to Athens after February 325; the prosecutions *de Harpalicis* commenced at the end of the archonship of Anticles and extended into the year of Hegesias. Dinarchi *adversus Aristogitonem de Harpalicis*. After the condemnation of Demosthenes.

Timocles the comic poet continued to exhibit comedy after this date.

323

*Cephisodorus archon*. Death of Alexander on the 28th of Dæsius, June B.C. 323. Lamian war, after the death of Alexander.

Epicurus æt. 18 comes to Athens. His early years had been passed at Samos, where his father was one of the Athenian colonists. Death of Diogenes the cynic on the same day as Alexander. Diogenes was near 90 years of age. Born therefore about B. C. 412.

Demosthenes remains in exile till after the death of Alexander. Lycurgus died about the time of the exile of Demosthenes, or not long before.

Hyperidis *oratio funebris*. Upon those who fell in the Lamian war.

322

*Philocles archon*. Craterus comes to the aid of Antipater from Asia. Battle of Cranon on the 7th of Metagitnion, Aug. 6; after which Xenocrates was sent ambassador to Antipater, and a Macedonian garrison entered Munychion on the 20th of Boedromion, Sept. 17 B.C. 322. After these events Antipater and Craterus prosecute war in Ætolia in the ensuing winter. Antipater upon the submission of Athens disfranchised 12,000 of the poorer citizens and settled some of them in Thrace, thus reducing the number to about 9000. The original numbers, 21,000, were found at the census five years afterwards, the 12,000 having been restored after the death of Antipater.

Death of Demosthenes in the little island of Calauria near Trœzen, two months after the battle of Cranon, on the 16th of Pyanepsion, Oct. 13 B. C. 322. About the same time Hype-

	rides had been put to death by Antipater. Demochares the nephew of Demosthenes is already engaged in public affairs. Aristotle, after 12 years complete, or 13 current, at Athens, proceeded to Chalcis in Eubœa; and died there about the time of the death of Demosthenes in his 63rd year. Theophrastus succeeds him.
321	<i>Archippus archon.</i> Antipater and Craterus are suddenly called from Ætolia into Asia. Victory of Eumenes and death of Craterus, before midsummer. News of the victory reached the army in Egypt two days after the death of Perdiccas, whose attempt to ford the Nile was made before the season of the flood, therefore before the summer solstice, when the Nile begins to rise. Dinarchus flourished at Athens during the 15 years which followed the death of Demosthenes. Menandri <i>Orge</i> . His first exhibition, in his 21st year.
320	Ol. 115 <i>Damasias Amphipolitanus. Neachmus archon.</i> Diphilus flourished. Contemporary with Menander. He produced 100 comedies, and died at Smyrna.
319	<i>Apollodorus archon.</i> Eumenes retires to Nora, where he is blockaded during several months by Antigonus. Theophrastus is named at the Eusebian year 1697, commencing Oct. B. C. 320.
318	<i>Archippus archon.</i> Death of Antipater at past 80, while Eumenes is still blockaded in Nora. The siege lasted through a winter, and till the spring of 318. He is liberated after the death of Antipater. Demades is put to death at the time of the decease of Antipater.
317	<i>Demogenes archon.</i> Death of Phocion æt. 85 on the 19th of Munychion, April or May B. C. 317. Philip Arrhidæus is put to death by Olympias about September 317. Agathocles becomes tyrant of Syracuse. Census at Athens. The numbers are 21,000 citizens, or males above the age of 20 years, 10,000 <i>metæci</i> , 400,000 slaves. When the women and children are added to the citizens and <i>metæci</i> , the total free population will be about 127,660 persons, and 400,000 slaves being added will give 527,660 for the total population of Attica, with Salamis. The orators Hegemon and Pythocles are put to death with Phocion. Demetrius Phalereus governs Athens for 10 years ending in September B. C. 307.
316	Ol. 116 <i>Demosthenes Laco. Democlidēs archon.</i> Campaign of Antigonus against Eumenes in Upper Asia,



	<p>continued till the winter. Meanwhile Olympias is besieged at Pydna by Cassander in the winter.</p> <p>[The decree of Sophocles against the philosophers is either at Ol. 116 or Ol. 118. This law was opposed by Philo but defended by Demochares. It did not enact that the philosophers should be banished, but only subjected them to regulation and restraint. The law was repealed in the following year.]</p> <p>[Alexidis <i>Hippos</i>. Before the death of Xenocrates, and during the government of Demetrius Phalereus.]</p>
315	<p><i>Praxibulus archon</i>. War is continued in the winter between Antigonus and Eumenes, which ends in the death of Eumenes, early in the year 315, while it was still winter. Eumenes perished at the age of 45 years. He had been 7 years current in the service of Philip, B. C. 342—336. Olympias, having been besieged through the winter by Cassander, in the beginning of spring B. C. 315 is captured and put to death. Cassander rebuilds Thebes in the 20th year after its destruction by Alexander. It was destroyed in October 335, restored before midsummer 315.</p> <p>Polemo succeeds Xenocrates after midsummer of 315. Xenocrates at his death was in his 82nd year. Contemporary with Polemo is Crantor.</p>
314	<p><i>Nicodorus archon</i>.</p> <p>Death of Æschines the orator at Samos. He might survive Alexander 9 years, and die at the age of 75 in the year 314.</p>
313	<i>Theophrastus archon</i> .
312	<p>Ol. 117 <i>Parmenides Mytilenæus</i>. <i>Polemon archon</i>.</p> <p>Demetrius is defeated at Gaza by Ptolemy and Seleucus after midsummer 312. After the victory Seleucus took possession of Babylonia. From hence the era of the <i>Seleucidæ</i> begins Oct. 1 B. C. 312. Demetrius is now in his 22nd year. (Alexis in the <i>Pyraunos</i> alludes to Seleucus.)</p>
311	<i>Simonides archon</i> .
310	<p><i>Hieromnemon archon</i>. Agathocles lands in Africa at the time of an eclipse of the sun, which happened Aug. 15 B. C. 310, after his defeat at Himera, which was in June or July preceding.</p> <p>Epicurus in his 32nd year began to teach at Mytilene and Lampsacus.</p>
309	<i>Demetrius archon</i> .
308	<p>Ol. 118 <i>Andromenes Corinthius</i>. <i>Charinus archon</i>.</p> <p>Marsyas of Pella flourished. His <i>Macedonica</i> in 10 books commenced with the first king of Macedonia, and ended at the</p>

	march of Alexander into Syria after the foundation of Alexandria.
307	<p><i>Anaxicrates archon.</i> Demetrius approaches the Piræus on the 26th of Thargelion, June 307. He besieges Munychia, occupies Megara, and puts down the oligarchy at Athens 15 years after its establishment. Demetrius Phalereus, who had governed Athens 10 years, retires to Thebes.</p> <p>Agathocles, who had been nearly four years in Africa, quits it at the close of 307.</p> <p>Lycurgus 17 years after his death is honoured with a statue. Dinarchus goes into exile. These honours to Lycurgus and the exile of Dinarchus happened upon the ascendancy of the democratical party through the victory of Demetrius Poliorcetes.</p> <p>Stilpo is at Megara at its capture by Demetrius.</p>
306	<p><i>Coræbus archon.</i> Demetrius after the liberation of Athens defeats Ptolemy in a great sea-fight before midsummer 306. After that action Antigonus Lysimachus Seleucus and Ptolemy assume the title of king.</p> <p>Epicurus, having taught at Mytilene and Lampsacus 5 years current, returns to Athens; where he taught about 36 years, till his death at the age of 72, in January B. C. 270.</p> <p>Philochorus the historian, author of the <i>Atthis</i>, already holds the office of <i>ἱεροσκόπος</i> at Athens.</p> <p>Alexis the comic poet is still living in the time of Antigonus and Demetrius. He had exhibited comedy at least 50, perhaps 60 years, before, and lived to a very advanced age.</p>
305	<p><i>Euxenippus archon.</i> Thebes was rebuilt in the 20th year after its destruction. See 315. But Polemo reckons that 30 years were accomplished before its final restoration.</p> <p>Theopompus the historian is still living.</p>
304	<p>Ol. 119 <i>Andromenes Corinthius.</i> <i>Pherecles archon.</i></p> <p>Siege of Rhodes by Demetrius in spring 304.</p>
303	<p><i>Leostratus archon.</i> Peace concluded with the Rhodians by Demetrius after a year's siege. The siege of Rhodes terminated in the spring of 303. After the peace with the Rhodians Demetrius sails to Greece to oppose Cassander.</p> <p>Anaxippus the comic poet flourished.</p>
302	<p><i>Nicocles archon.</i> Campaign of Demetrius in Greece against Cassander. Antigonus moves into Cappadocia against Lysimachus, Seleucus approaches from Upper Asia. The three kings winter in Asia. The winter of the archon Nicocles.</p> <p>Demochares nephew of Demosthenes is banished by the party of Stratocles.</p>

	Archedicus the comic poet was contemporary with Demochares, whom he satirised.
301	<p><i>Calliarchus archon.</i> Demetrius, after his initiation at Athens in Munychion, April 301, passed to Ephesus to join his father. The three kings, having passed the winter in winter quarters, engage at Ipsus in Phrygia about the month of August B. C. 301. Antigonus is slain in the battle at the age of 81 years.</p> <p>Hieronymus of Cardia the historian flourished. He had been the companion of Eumenes, and fell into the hands of Antigonus upon the death of Eumenes. After the death of Antigonus he was appointed governor of Bœotia by Demetrius in 293. He mentioned in his history the death of Antigonus in 301, the death of Lysimachus in 281, the death of Pyrrhus in 272. He therefore continued to write history in the reign of the second Antigonus, 50 years after the death of Alexander. But he lived 104 years.</p> <p>Philippides the comic poet ridiculed the honours paid to Demetrius by Stratocles the demagogue: the flattery of voting Munychion to be Anthesterion, and the lodging Demetrius in the Parthenon.</p>
300	<p>Ol. 120 <i>Pythagoras Magnesius ad Mæandrum.</i> <i>Hegemachus archon.</i></p> <p>Birth of Lyco the peripatetic.</p>
299	<p><i>Euctemon archon.</i> The siege of Athens by Demetrius during the tyranny of Lachares was about two years after the battle of Ipsus. After that battle Demetrius being excluded from Athens sailed to the Chersonese. Not long after, Seleucus married his daughter Stratonice, after which Demetrius occupied Cilicia, and then proceeded to the siege of Athens. The city pressed by famine surrendered. Lachares, who had been encouraged by Cassander, escaped into Bœotia, where he was assassinated.</p> <p>Arcesilaus flourished in Ol. 120, although now only 17 years of age. Zeno of Citium flourished. He came to Athens in the time of Crates the cynic, heard Crates, Stilpo, and Xenocrates or Polemo, and taught at Athens 58 years.</p> <p>Demetrius the comic poet was contemporary with Seleucus Agathocles and Lachares, whom he mentioned in his <i>Arcopagita</i>. A poet therefore of the New Comedy.</p>
298	<p><i>Mnesidemus archon.</i></p> <p>(Diyllus closed his history in 26 books about this period. The narrative was continued by Psaon of Plataea.)</p>
297	<i>Antiphates archon.</i>
296	<p>Ol. 121 <i>Pythagoras Magnesius II.</i> <i>Nicias archon.</i></p> <p>Death of Cassander, 19 years after the death of Olympias.</p>



	Demetrius Phalereus after the death of Cassander withdraws to Egypt.
295	<i>Nicostratus archon.</i>
294	<i>Olympiodorus archon.</i> Demetrius having removed the sons of Cassander reigns in Macedonia 7 years.
293	* * The archon of Ol. 121. 4 is wanting.
292	Ol. 122 <i>Antigonus Macedo.</i> <i>Philippus archon.</i> Dinarchus returns from exile after a banishment of 15 years, which terminate in September 292.
291	Death of Menander æt. 52. He left 105 dramas.
290	Demetrius celebrates the Pythian games at Athens, being excluded from Delphi by the Ætolians, in the autumn of B. C. 290 Ol. 122. 3.
289	Death of Agathocles of Syracuse. He had reigned 28 and lived 72 years. Posidippus begins to exhibit comedy.
288	Ol. 123 <i>Antigonus Macedo II.</i>
287	Demetrius is driven from Macedonia by Pyrrhus, after an occupation of 7 years. Strato succeeds Theophrastus, who had presided about 35 years. Strato was succeeded by Lyco in B. C. 270. Crates, the friend and disciple of Polemo, the master of Arcesilaus, flourished at the time of the misfortunes of Demetrius Poliorcetes.
286	Pyrrhus is driven from Macedonia after seven months possession by Lysimachus.
285	Ptolemy Philadelphus is associated in the kingdom of Egypt by his father.
284	Ol. 124 <i>Philomelus Pharsalius.</i>
283	Death of Demetrius Poliorcetes in his captivity at Apamea or Pella æt. 54, three years after his surrender to Seleucus. Fixed to this year by the reign of his son Antigonus Gonatas. Death of Ptolemy Soter æt. 84, forty years after the death of Alexander. Demetrius Phalereus is in great credit at Alexandria till the death of Soter. Upon whose death Demetrius was disgraced by Philadelphus and perished in confinement. Sopater of Paphos still continued to exhibit comedy. He flourished for more than 40 years.

281	<p>Lysimachus is defeated and slain by Seleucus about seven months current before the death of Seleucus himself, or in July B. C. 281.</p>
280	<p>Ol. 125 <i>Ladas Ægiensis. Gorgias archon.</i></p> <p>Seleucus is murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus in the 32nd year of his reign, in January B. C. 280.</p> <p>Pyrrhus passed into Italy in the spring of 280, when he found Lævinus consul, the year before the irruption of the Gauls into Greece, and two years before their destruction at Delphi.</p> <p>Rise of the <i>Achæan League</i> within Ol. 124. 4 about the time of the passage of Pyrrhus into Italy. Polybius, who gives these dates, also enumerates 38 years between the establishment of the League and the victory of Catulus at the Ægates in 242. But <math>242 + 38 =</math> B. C. 280 for the era of the League, in conformity with the other computation.</p> <p>Ceraunus is slain by the Gauls 9 months after the murder of Seleucus, and 17 (or rather 16) months after the death of Lysimachus; or October B. C. 280.</p> <p>Demosthenes is honoured with a statue on the motion of his nephew Demochares: Demochares himself received the same honour ten years afterwards on the motion of his son Laches. Demochares is now in advanced age, for his mother was two years younger than Demosthenes, and born in 380, 100 years before the present date. Demochares had been engaged in public affairs 42 years before the year of Gorgias, in the time of Antipater, and had held the highest offices. He opposed the party of Demetrius Phalereus and disapproved of the honours paid to Demetrius Poliorcetes. Of the duration of his exile we have no account.</p> <p>Birth of Chrysippus. He died æt. 73 about 56 years after Zeno. The succession was Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus.</p>
279	<p><i>Anaxicrates archon.</i> Irruption of the Gauls into Greece. Second year of the war of Pyrrhus in Italy.</p> <p>Zeno of Citium flourished in Ol. 125 in the reign of Antigonus Gonatas. He was in great favour with Antigonus, and died before him. Zeno lived 98 years.</p>
278	<p><i>Democles archon.</i> The Gauls, repulsed in the year of Anaxicrates, pass into Asia in the archonship of Democles. They were called into Asia by Nicomedes king of Bithynia.</p> <p>The four Schools of Philosophy at Athens are directed at this time by Strato, Zeno, Epicurus, Arcesilaus. Strato died in 270, Epicurus in January 270, Arcesilaus in 241. Polemo is still living, and probably Crates. But Arcesilaus seems to have founded the Middle Academy in their lifetime, perhaps at the death of Crantor, who died before Polemo and Crates.</p>

## § 1 PYTHIAN GAMES.

In the war of the Amphictyons against Cirrha this city was taken in the archonship of Simon, and the war was ended in the sixth year after that event, in the archonship of Damasias. Eurylochus, who commanded the Amphictyonic forces, was assisted by Clisthenes tyrant of Sicyon<sup>a</sup>, who led the quota of troops from Sicyon, and by Solon, and forces from Athens commanded by Alcmaeon.

The Cirrhæan or Crissæan war was terminated in the third year of the 48th Olympiad, B. C. 586. From that date, the 48th Olympiad, the Pythiads were computed, and the Pythian games were held every four years, like the Olympic. The first *Pythia* were celebrated in Ol. 48. 3; at these first Pythian games a crown was appointed to be the prize of the victor, according to the Parian Marble, but according to Pausanias the crown was not added till the second celebration, in Ol. 49.

That the Pythian games were celebrated in every third Olympic year, and not, as some have held, in the second, is demonstrated by many testimonies. The third Olympic year is assigned for Ol. 48 by Pausanias, for Ol. 49 by Hieronymus, for Ol. 102 by Diodorus, for Ol. 101 by Demosthenes, for Ol. 112 by Dionysius, for Ol. 108 by Demosthenes, for Ol. 96 by Plutarch.

As to the season in which the Pythian games were celebrated, a considerable error prevailed. The *Pythia* were assigned to the spring, and the eleventh Attic month Thargelion by Scaliger, to the tenth Attic month Munychion by Dodwell, Corsini, Wesseling, Barthelmi, Larcher; to the ninth Attic month Elaphebolion by Petitus. Mr. Boeckh follows Corsini and places the Delphian month Bucatius, in which the *Pythia* were celebrated, at the Attic month Munychion. But evidence remains to shew that the games were held in the *autumn*, in the second or third Attic month *Metagitnion* or *Boedromion*. This is determined 1 by the *Pythia* which followed the battle of Coronea in Ol. 96. 3; 2 by the *Pythia* which followed the seizure of the Cadmea in Ol. 99. 3;

<sup>a</sup> Clisthenes is described in a newly discovered fragment of Nicolaus Damascenus in Cod. Escorial. published by Mr. Müller Fragm. Hist. Gr. tom. 3 p. 395, which concludes, *ἐτυράννει βιαι-*

*ότατος ὦν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὠμότατος, καὶ βοηθείας πολλοῖς ἐκπέμπων, ὥς ἂν ἔχοι συμμαχοῦς. κατασχὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν καὶ λ' (ἔτη) ἐτελεύτησεν.*



3 by the *Pythia* which followed the dismantling of the towns of Phocis in Ol. 108. 3; 4 by the games which followed the cause of the Crown, in Ol. 112. 3; 5 by the time of the death of Jason of Pheræ in Ol. 102. 3.

§ 2 The duration of the reign of the PISISTRATIDÆ is variously computed. The numbers of Aristotle and Thucydides give the following periods :

	y.
Pisistratus .....	33
His sons .....	18
To the battle of Marathon (complete)	19
	<hr/> 70

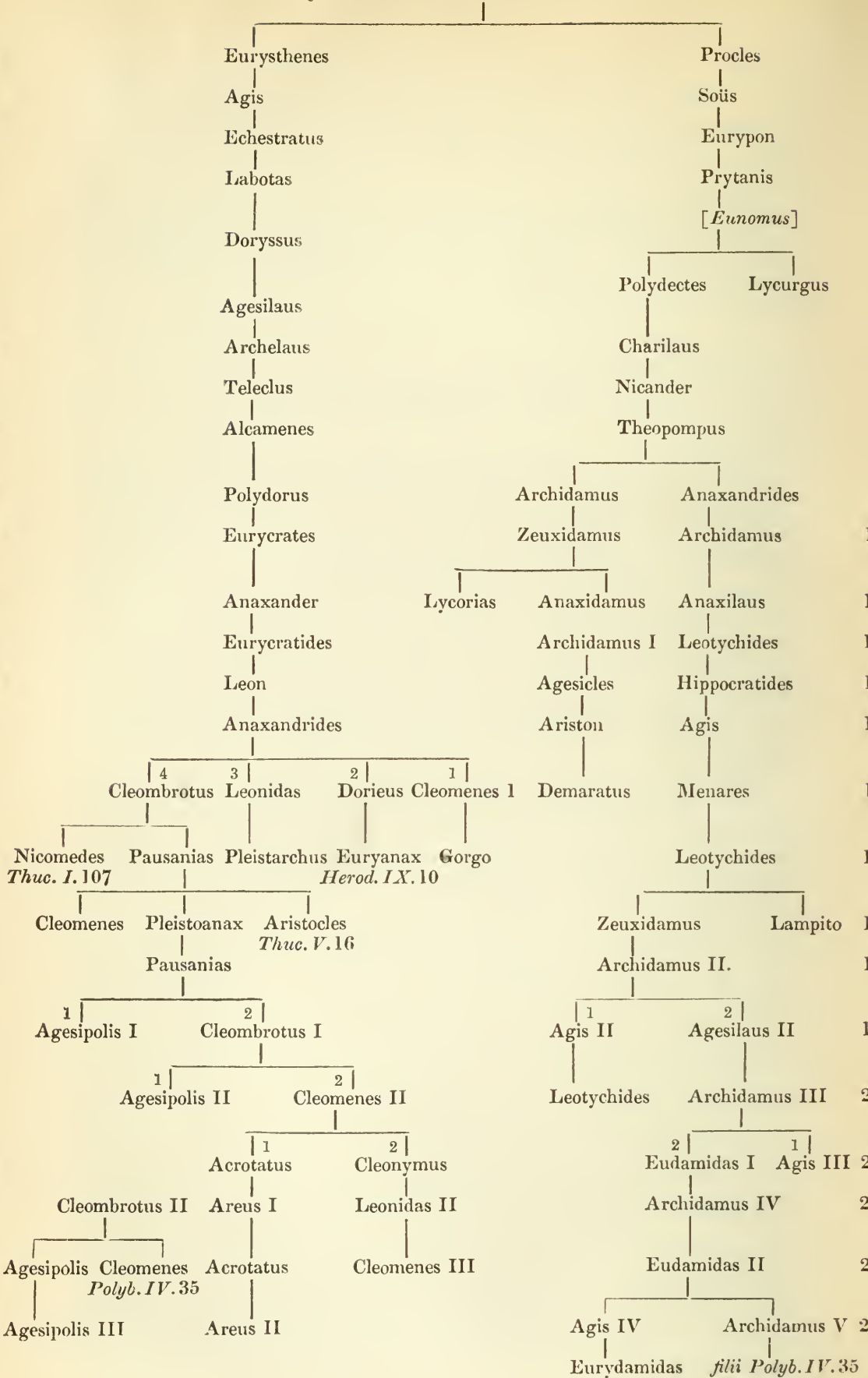
Pisistratus had three distinct periods of government, interrupted by two exiles. According to Aristotle, in 33 years he reigned 17. Whence it follows that he was 16 years in exile. Herodotus expresses the duration of the second exile to have been ten years complete or eleven years current. But if the duration of the second was 10 or 11 years, the duration of the first exile was 5 or 6 years. These facts are known, but the duration of his three periods of government, and especially of his first and third, is not so clearly ascertained.

We may assume the first tyranny to have been about 6 years, the first exile 6, the second exile 10 years complete. These numbers leave 10 years for the third and final establishment, as in the following table.

y.	y.	B. C.
1	Pisistratus usurps the tyranny...	6.....560
—	Birth of Hippias .....	(560)
7	First exile .....	6.....554
13	Second tyranny .....	1.....548
14	Second exile .....	10.....547
24	Third tyranny .....	10.....537
34	Death of Pisistratus .....	527

As Pisistratus died in the beginning of B. C. 527, and as Hipparchus was slain in August 514, the actual duration of the reign of Hipparchus was about 13y. 6<sup>m</sup>; and, as Hippias finally withdrew from Athens about September 510, the government of the sons of Pisistratus may be computed at 17y 8<sup>m</sup> or 18 years current, agreeing with the description of Aristotle.

# § 3 KINGS OF SPARTA.



(Hercules)  
 (Hyllus)  
 (Cleodæus)  
 (Aristomachus)  
 1 Aristodemus

2 Eurysthenes		2 Procles	
3 Agis		3 Soüs	
4 Echestratus		4 Eurypon	
5 Labotas		5 Prytanis	
6 Doryssus		[ <i>Eunomus</i> ]	
7 Agesilaus		6 Polydectes	
8 Archelaus		7 Charilaus	
9 Teleclus		8 Nicander	
10 Alcamenes		9 Theopompus [cir. B. C. 770—720]	
11 Polydorus [cir. B. C. 742—710]			
12 Eurycrates		10 Zeuxidamus	
13 Anaxander		11 Anaxidamus	
14 Eurycratides		12 Archidamus I	
15 Leon	<i>y.</i>	13 Agesicles	<i>B. C.</i>
16 Anaxandrides . . . . .	.. [560]	14 Ariston . . . . .	.. [560]
17 Cleomenes I . . . . .	30 .. 520	15 Demaratus	
18 Leonidas . . . . .	11 .. 491	16 Leotychides . . . . .	22 .. 491
19 Pleistarchus . . . . .	22 .. 480		
20 Pleistoanax . . . . .	50 .. 458	17 Archidamus II . . . . .	42 .. 469
21 Pausanias . . . . .	14 .. 408	18 Agis II . . . . .	29 .. 427
22 Agesipolis I . . . . .	14 .. 394	19 Agesilaus II . . . . .	37 .. 398
23 Cleombrotus I . . . . .	9 .. 380		
24 Agesipolis II . . . . .	1 .. 371		
25 Cleomenes II . . . . .	61 .. 370	20 Archidamus III . . . . .	23 .. 361
		21 Agis III . . . . .	8 .. 338
		22 Eudamidas I . . . . .	.. 330
26 Areus I . . . . .	44 .. 309	23 Archidamus IV	
27 Acrotatus . . . . .	[ 1].. 265	24 Eudamidas II	
28 Areus II . . . . .	8 .. [264]		
29 Leonidas II		25 Agis IV . . . . .	4 .. 244
30 Cleombrotus II			
<i>Leonidas again</i> . . . . .	.. 240	26 Eurydamidas	
31 Cleomenes III . . . . .	16 .. 236	27 Archidamus V	
32 Agesipolis III . . . . .	.. 219	<i>Lycurgus</i> . . . . .	.. 219
		<i>Machanidas</i> . . . . .	.. 210
		<i>Nabis</i> . . . . .	14 .. 206

One of the preceding tables exhibits the genealogy of the Eurysthenidæ and Proclidæ, the other, the reigns of this double race of Spartan kings. In the table of reigns Aristodemus is inserted as first king of Sparta; in the genealogy he is omitted. But, to give every possible advantage to the computation of time by the generations, Aristodemus should



also be inserted. In that case, Cleomenes III, who died B. C. 220, is the 25th from Aristodemus, and Eurydamidas, who was put to death by Cleomenes about B. C. 224, is (if we omit the doubtful *Eunomus*) the 26th, Aristodemus himself being included.

The first reigns of this race to which we can assign a date are those of Anaxandrides and Ariston, who are made contemporary with each other and with Croesus by Herodotus. The time of Croesus is known. That of Anaxandrides may be probably fixed by many incidents. But the duration of the reigns of the 15 predecessors of Anaxandrides, and of the 13 predecessors of Ariston is left to the conjectures of chronologers. Polydorus and Theopompus are known to have been contemporary, and to have reigned through the long period of the first Messenian war. But the exact time of their accessions or the precise duration of their reigns cannot be determined. The chronology which fixes the *Return* to B. C. 1104 allows about 540 years to the 15 predecessors of Anaxandrides, and as many to the 13 predecessors of Ariston. In the times of known chronology 10 generations and 16 reigns, from Anaxandrides to Cleomenes III inclusive, fill 340 years; and 12 generations and 14 reigns from Ariston to Archidamus V occupy the same period. Larcher extends the term to 350 years. These 350 years would give for 10 generations 35 years each, and for 12 generations 29 years each. They would give for the 16 reigns 22 years nearly, and for the 14 reigns 25 years. In the preceding period the Vulgar Chronology, which is that of Eratosthenes, assumes reigns and generations to be equivalent, and in 540 years assigns 36 each to the 15 reigns or generations, and 38 each to the fourteen. In the times of known chronology the reigns of the Spartan kings are found to be from 22 to 25 years each on an average, and the generations from 29 to 35 years. If we take the mean of these two last numbers, 32 years, and if we suppose reigns to be equivalent to generations, and compute fifteen predecessors to Ariston before B. C. 560, instead of the juster number thirteen, the result  $32 \times 15 = 480$  will nevertheless be an amount 64 years below the date of Eratosthenes.

We propose briefly to describe those kings who fall within the era of Pisistratus, and their successors, down to the extinction of the Spartan kingdom.

## AGIDÆ.

16 Anaxandrides. The 16th king of Sparta and the 15th both inclusive from Eurysthenes. Contemporary with Cræsus. He reigned long; for Cleomenes was not born till some time after his father's accession, and yet had attained maturity when he succeeded. Even the younger son Dorieus was grown up at the death of Anaxandrides. And, as Cleomenes was king as early as B. C. 520, Anaxandrides came to the throne probably as early as 560, about the time at which Cræsus began to reign. Anaxandrides by his second marriage had Cleomenes his eldest son, by his former wife he had Dorieus Leonidas and Cleombrotus. Dorieus the second son upon the death of his father withdrew with a band of adventurers to seek a foreign settlement, and was slain a few years after in Sicily, with most of his followers. Cleombrotus the youngest son of Anaxandrides was father of Pausanias who commanded at Plataea; and from him the future kings of this line were descended. In the reign of Anaxandrides the Spartans were successful in a war with Tegea. They had concluded that war when Cræsus sent into Greece for succours against the Persians.

17 Cleomenes, the 17th king, was in the throne when the Plataeans put themselves under the protection of Athens; which happened in B. C. 519. He commanded the forces sent to expel the Pisistratidæ in 510, and was king when Darius sent to demand

## PROCLIDÆ.

14 Ariston the 14th king of Sparta, the 14th from Procles, and the 7th from Theopompus, both extremes being included. Ariston like his colleague had a long reign, for he married three wives successively, and remained long without issue after he was king; and Demaratus, the son of the third, was grown up when he succeeded his father. Ariston was king as early as B. C. 560 on account of the Tegean war, which was carried on in his reign, and yet was concluded before 554. And, as his successor Demaratus was deposed in 491, the reign of Ariston must have been long, since the two reigns of the father and son were equal to 70 years, of which the son Demaratus might reign nearly twenty.

15 Demaratus, the 15th king of the house of the Proclidæ, was king in 510 at the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, and was joined in command with Cleomenes soon afterwards (about the year 507) in an expedition into Attica, which Demaratus disapproved. His dis-

## AGIDÆ.

earth and water from the Æginetans. After the transactions at Ægina, which happened in 491, the year before the battle of Marathon, Demaratus was deposed through the influence of Cleomenes. Cleomenes therefore died about B. C. 491. Between the first mention of him and the last is a space of 29 years. Cleomenes is mentioned as king of Sparta in the beginning of the reign of Darius, when Syloson was restored at Samos, as early as B. C. 519, the 3rd year of Darius. Gorgo the only daughter of Cleomenes, who was 8 or 9 years old in B. C. 500 when Aristagoras visited Sparta, and therefore born about B. C. 509, was married to her uncle Leonidas.

18 Leonidas the third son of Anaxandrides succeeded a little before the battle of Marathon. He was the 21st from Hercules, both extremes being included, slain at Thermopylæ in July B. C. 480 in the 11th year of his reign. In Leonidas we arrive at an exact chronology, which we have gradually approached in the two preceding reigns. We can determine the beginning of the reign of Anaxandrides within a very few years by the incidents of the Tegean war and the reign of Croesus. We can fix the death of Cleomenes perhaps within a year. But

## PROCLIDÆ.

sensions with his colleague in the affairs of Ægina happened in 491, and Cleomenes immediately afterwards procured his deposition. He withdrew to the court of Persia, was well received by Darius, and accompanied Xerxes into Greece. His descendants are said to have continued long in Persia. Xenophon mentions Eurysthene and Procles, descendants of Demaratus, as possessing Pergamus Teuthrania and Halisarna, the gift of the king of Persia to their ancestor. Procles was found at Teuthrania by the Cyrean army in the year 400. According to an anecdote in Plutarch Demaratus was living when Themistocles was an exile in Persia in 465, so that he survived his deposition almost 30 years. He reigned 19 years B. C. 510—491, and, as he was grown up at his accession, he might be upwards of 70 when Themistocles arrived at the Persian court. This king was distinguished as being the only king of Sparta down to the time of Herodotus who had gained an Olympic victory with the chariot of four horses.

16 Leotyichides, the successor of Demaratus, was of a collateral branch of the Proclidæ; the common ancestor of Demaratus and Leotyichides was Theopompus; Demaratus being the 8th and Leotyichides the 9th from Theopompus. He succeeded by the management of Cleomenes in 491, and commanded jointly with Xanthippus the father of Pericles at Mycale in 479. He afterwards went into exile for taking bribes in Thessaly. The time of that exile is determined by the first year of his successor Archidamus, whose 4th year was com-



## AGIDÆ.

the actual period of the death of Leonidas is determined with precision.

19 Pleistarchus. Cleombrotus the youngest son of Anaxandrides died in 479, and Pausanias as regent during the minority of Pleistarchus commanded at Plataea. He commanded the confederates for one year after the retreat of Xerxes, and was then recalled. At the time of his death, which happened a few years afterwards, he was still regent. Pleistarchus died without issue in 458. He reigned about 22 years from the death of his father Leonidas.

20 Pleistoanax son of Pausanias and grandson of Cleombrotus, and the 18th from Eurysthenes, reigned 50 years ending in B. C. 408. He was a minor at his accession. His uncle Nicomedes, younger son of Cleombrotus, commanded as regent at the battle of Tanagra in 457. Twelve years afterwards, in 445, Pleistoanax commanded in person in the invasion of Attica. After that expedition he was banished on a suspicion of having been bribed to retire. He was 19 years current in exile. Still in exile in 427, when his son Pausanias a minor reigned in his stead. He had returned before 421, the year of the 50 years' truce. His exile then seems to have continued B. C. 444—426, and was included in his reign of 50 years.

21 Pausanias son of Pleistoanax, though a minor, reigned during his father's exile. After the death of Pleistoanax in 408, he reigned 14 years, at the end of which term he also was sent into exile. He was banished in 394, soon after the death of Lysander, who had fallen at Haliartus in 395.

## PROCLIDÆ.

pleted at the time of the earthquake in 464. Leotychides, then, went into exile in 469.

Zeuxidamus son of Leotychides died before his father.

17 Archidamus II, the 18th from Procles and 11th from Theopompus, succeeded on the deposition of his grandfather in B. C. 469. He led the first expedition into Attica in the Peloponnesian war in 431, the second in 430, and the third in 428. In the fourth expedition in 427 Cleomenes commanded, and Agis son of Archidamus in the fifth in 426. Archidamus therefore died between the third and the fifth expedition, about 427, and reigned 42 years.

18 Agis II son of Archidamus was already in the throne early in the year 426, and survived the war with Elis, which lasted till the summer of 399. This king therefore reigned 28 years. In the Table of reigns the reign of Agis is stated at 29 years *current*, and the reign of Agesilaus at 37 *complete*; the one reigned something more than 28 years, the other something less than 38.

The son of Agis, Leotychides, was excluded from the succession, and Agesilaus was preferred through the interest of Lysander.

19 Agesilaus II younger son of Archidamus, and 19th from Procles, succeeded his brother Agis. He passed into Asia with an army in 396, was recalled when he had already completed the second year in Asia, and gained the battle of Coronea in August 394. He continued to possess the chief direction of the affairs of Lacedæmon till the

## AGIDÆ.

Pausanias was still living in 385, when Mantinea was besieged by his son Agesipolis.

22 Agesipolis I, son of Pausanias, was a minor at his accession in 394. The victory at Corinth in 394 was gained by his guardian Aristodemus. He reigned 14 years, and died of fever at midsummer 380 in the third campaign of the Olynthian war.

23 Cleombrotus succeeded his brother in the summer of 380, reigned 9 years, and fell at Leuctra in July 371.

24 Agesipolis II eldest son of Cleombrotus reigned a year, and died in 370.

25 Cleomenes II succeeded his brother Agesipolis II. He reigned 60y 10m within B. C. 370—309. Of his two sons, Acrotatus the eldest died before him; Cleonymus the younger opposed the generals of Craterus, who was in Greece in B. C. 322, towards the end of the reign of Cleomenes. Cleonymus was afterwards a competitor for the kingdom with his nephew Areus.

26 Areus I grandson of Cleomenes II, and 23rd in descent from Eurysthenes, succeeded his grandfather in 309, and reigned 44 years. Cleonymus the uncle of Areus, being disappointed of

## PROCLIDÆ.

death of Epaminondas, which happened in June 362. After that, he undertook the Egyptian expedition, when he was past 80, and died on his return home, about the close of the year 361. He reigned then B. C. 398—361 both inclusive, a space of 38 years current. He began to reign in about the 10th year of Pausanias. His colleagues of the other house were Agesipolis I Cleombrotus I Agesipolis II and Cleomenes II, in the 9th or 10th year of whose long reign Agesilaus died.

20 Archidamus III son of Agesilaus, a young man in 378, gained the *tearless battle* in 367, before his accession.

Archidamus supported the Phocians in the Sacred war, which began in the 5th year of his reign. He assisted Philomelus secretly at first. According to Theopompus he was corrupted by bribes. He was slain in Italy in August 338, in the 23rd year of his reign computed from December 361. He might be about 60 years of age.

21 Agis III succeeded his father Archidamus III in August 338. He was slain in battle at the latter end of 331; which limits his reign to 8 years current.

At the time of the battle of Issus in 333 Agis was communicating with the Persian naval commanders in the Ægæan, to obtain supplies for the war against the Macedonians.

22 Eudamidas I, younger son of Archidamus III, succeeded his brother Agis in the year 330, in the 40th year of the reign of Cleomenes II.

23 Archidamus IV son of Eu-

## AGIDÆ.

the succession, brought Pyrrhus against Sparta in B. C. 272, in the 37th year of Areus, when his son Acrotatus was now grown up. Areus assisted the Athenians in a war against Antigonos son of Demetrius, who began to reign in 283. This king of Sparta was slain at Corinth. Areus I was contemporary with Onias I high priest of the Jews, who died in the 9th year of the reign of Areus, and to whom the embassy was sent in 1 Macc. XII. 20.

27 Acrotatus, son of Areus I, was slain in battle near Megalopolis by the tyrant Aristodemus, who lived in the time of Aratus of Sicyon, and who was put to death by Demophanes and Ecde-mus, disciples of the philosopher Arcesilaus. The valour of Acrotatus saved Sparta from Pyrrhus in 272, during the absence of his father Areus in Crete. Areus and Acrotatus who reigned a little before Cleomenes III, are accused by Phylarchus of having changed the mode of living and corrupted the ancient simplicity of Sparta.

28 Areus II, a posthumous son, died at 8 years of age. He was the 6th from Cleombrotus (who fell at Leuctra about 110 years before the birth of Areus) and the 25th from Eurysthenes. Leonidas, who succeeded him, was only the 23rd from Eurysthenes and the great grandson of Cleombrotus.

29 Leonidas II, after having been regent for 8 years during the life of Areus II, became king on the death of the minor. By the management of the party of Agis his colleague, he was deposed, and his son-in-law Cleombrotus made king in his stead. The first reign therefore of Leonidas continued to about the year 243.

## PROCLIDÆ.

damidas was already king in 296, when he was defeated by Demetrius Poliorcetes, in the 14th year of Areus I.

24 Eudamidas II. Plutarch thus deduces his descent from the great Agesilaus: "Archidamus, who fell by the Messapians at Mandonium in Italy, was the son of Agesilaus. The elder son of Archidamus was Agis, the younger was Eudamidas, who, after Agis had been slain by Antipater near Megalopolis, held the kingdom. From him came Archidamus; from Archidamus another Eudamidas; from Eudamidas Agis."

25 Agis IV, the son of Eudamidas II, was the 24th from Procles and the 6th from Agesilaus II, both extremes being included. After the liberation of Corinth by Aratus, in July 243, Agis led an army against him, and was repulsed. But in a war between the Achæan league and the Ætolians Agis joined his forces to Aratus. This war seems to have occurred between B. C. 243 and 239, while Cleombrotus II was his colleague. The death of Agis followed immediately afterwards.

26 Eurydamidas son of Agis IV succeeded his father, while yet a child. He was poisoned by his colleague Cleomenes III son of Leonidas.

27 Archidamus son of Eudamidas and brother of Agis IV reigned at the same time with Cleomenes III, by whom he was put to death. He was slain some time after the accession of Cleomenes by those who had been parties to the death of Agis IV. Archidamus V left sons who were living



## AGIDÆ.

30 Cleombrotus II was appointed king on the deposition of Leonidas. During the absence of Agis on a military expedition Leonidas returned, recovered the kingdom, and put Agis to death, about the year 240.

31 Cleomenes III the 31st king, the 24th in descent from Eurysthenes, and the 8th from Pausanias who fought at Platea, succeeded his father Leonidas about 4 years after the death of Agis. He reigned 16 years, and was put to death in the third year after his flight from Greece. The *war of Cleomenes* had lasted three years when he fled. The first campaign is in 224, the second in 223, the last, and the battle of Sellasia, in the summer of 222. From his death in 220 we obtain the date of his accession, B. C. 236.

32 Agesipolis III. After the death of Cleomenes, Agesipolis III, a minor, grandson of Cleombrotus II, was elected king, and given to Lycurgus for a colleague; who soon deposed him. Among those who joined Flamininus in 195 was Agesipolis, then an exile. He was murdered by pirates about the year 183. Agesipolis, who might be 40 years of age at his death, would be the 25th in descent from Eurysthenes, if his grandfather Cleombrotus was in the same generation as Leonidas II.

## PROCLIDÆ.

at the death of Cleomenes III in 220, but were passed over, and the kingdom was given to a stranger. Archidamus V was therefore the last king of the race of the Proclidæ.

Lycurgus, not of the royal family, bribed the ephors to elect him king, about three years after the battle of Sellasia. He was followed by Machanidas and Nabis. The former was defeated and slain by Philopœmen. Nabis was defeated by Philopœmen, and slain by the Ætolians in the consulship of Flamininus and Domitius B. C. 192, when Lacedæmon was added to the Achæan league. The laws of *Lycurgus* were abolished by *Philopœmen* in 188.

§ 4 KINGS OF MACEDONIA.

1		4	Perdiccas I				
2		5	Argæus				
3		6	Philippus I				
4		7	Aëropus				
5		8	Alcetas				
6		9	Amyntas I				
7		10	Alexander I				
8	11	11	Perdiccas II	Philippus Amyntas			
9	12	12	Archelaus	Thuc. I. 57	Amyntas Aridaeus		
10	13	13	Orestes	Thuc. II. 95	15 Amyntas II		
11		16	Alexander II	17	Perdiccas III	18	Philippus II
12						19	Alexander III
13							
14							
15							
16							

(1 *Caranus*)(2 *Coenus*)(3 *Thurimas*)

4 Perdiccas I

5 Argæus

6 Philippus I

7 Aëropus

8 Alcetas *y. B. C.*

9 Amyntas I ..... [540]

10 Alexander I. .... [500]

11 Perdiccas II. .... [454]

12 Archelaus ..... 14 .. 413

13 Orestes and Aëropus (6) 5 .. 399

14 Pausanias ..... 1 .. 394

15 Amyntas II ..... 24 .. 393

16 Alexander II ..... (1) 2 .. 369 *y. B. C.*

Ptolemæus Alorites ..... 3 .. 367

17 Perdiccas III ..... 5 .. 364

18 Philippus II ..... 23 .. 359

19 Alexander III. .... 13 .. 336

	<i>y. m.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>Commenced.</i>
20 Aridæus .....	7	114. 2	July B. C 323
Olympias			
21 Cassander .....	19	116. 1	
22 Philippus IV. ....	4 }	120. 4	
Antipater and Alexander. .	2. 6 }		
23 Demetrius .....	6. 6	121. 3	December B. C. 294
24 Pyrrhus .....	7	123. 1	June B. C. 287
25 Lysimachus .....	5. 6	123. 2	Jan. B. C. 286
Ceraunus .....	1. 5	124. 4	July B. C. 281
Meleager .....	2	125. 1	Oct. or Nov. B. C. 280
Antipater 45 <i>days</i>			
Sosthenes .....	1		
Interregnum .....	2. 2		
26 Antigonus Gonatas .....	37. 5	125. 4	Sept. B. C. 277
27 Demetrius .....	10		
28 Antigonus Doson .....	9		
29 Philippus V .....	41. 9	139. 4	Feb. B. C. 220
30 Perseus .....	10. 8	150. 2	Nov. B. C. 179—June B. C. 168

Herodotus and Thucydides omit all notice of the three first kings, and make Perdiccas the first king of Macedonia; at least of the dynasty founded by the Temenidæ.

9 Amyntas reigned at the time of the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ from Athens in 510. He was already advanced in years, and his son Alexander arrived at manhood, when Megabazus the Persian general subdued Thrace and sent ambassadors to Amyntas to require his submission. These transactions happened about the year 507. Of the predeces-



sors of Amyntas, with respect to the times in which they reigned, nothing is known.

10 Alexander son of Amyntas (the 10th king according to chronologers), who was king at the Persian invasion in 480, was still living in 463, when Cimon recovered Thasos. If he succeeded soon after 507, and was still alive in 463, he might reign something more than 40 years. Alexander presented himself at the Olympic games as a competitor, and made out his title to be admitted as a Greek by descent.

11 Perdiccas II. Nicomedes and the Parian Marble assign to this king 41 years, Theopompus 35, Anaximenes 40, Hieronymus 28, Marsyas Philochorus and Dexippus 23 years. He was living at the latter end of 414, at least 86 years after the accession of his father Alexander, and about 93 years after the year 507, when Alexander was already a young man. The shorter date for his reign, 23 years, is the less probable, because it would extend the reign of Alexander to more than 60 years B. C. 500—437, and would suppose him to have lived 70 years after a period at which he had already arrived at manhood. Dodwell therefore with reason supposes the longer periods to be nearer the truth, and assumes the accession of Perdiccas to have fallen within 454. This date would suppose the two reigns to have been  $45 + 41 = 86$  years. From the uncertainty with regard to the reign of Perdiccas, we may form some judgment of the credit due to the numbers assigned by chronologers to the reigns of the preceding kings. In Amyntas I and Alexander I we gradually arrive at greater certainty, and are enabled nearly to determine their times. But the first epoch in this series of reigns of which we can name the year is the last year of Perdiccas II, whose death may be placed in the archonship of Pisander B. C.  $41\frac{4}{3}$ .

12 Archelaus the ninth in descent from the first Perdiccas succeeded in the beginning of the year 413. He reigned 14 years, and was assassinated by conspirators, among whom was Crataeus, Crateuas, or Craterus, in 399, in the archonship of Laches. Archelaus is recognised by Thucydides as the son of Perdiccas II.

13 After the assassin Craterus was removed, Orestes son of Archelaus was made king under the guardianship of Aeropus. We may with Dexippus assign 4 years to Orestes the

minor, and 2 years to the sole reign of Aeropus, after the death of the minor. But these 6 years were not complete ; for between Laches, in whose year Archelaus died, and Diophantus, in whose year Pausanias succeeded, are only four archons.

14 Pausanias son of Aeropus reigned a year and was slain by Amyntas. In the fragments of Dexippus Pausanias is not mentioned, and Amyntas is made the successor of Aeropus. With Orestes the direct descendants of Perdiccas II failed.

15 Amyntas II, a descendant from Alexander I, began to reign in the commencement of B. C. 393, reigned 24 years, and died in the beginning of 369, leaving three sons, Alexander Perdiccas and Philip. But he did not reign these 24 years without interruptions. After he had reigned a year, he was expelled. Ten years afterwards he has recovered his authority, and is engaged in war against the Olynthians with the Lacedæmonians for his allies. Isocrates describes the vicissitudes of the reign of Amyntas, his expulsion by the barbarians, his recovery of the kingdom, and the final establishment of his authority. In 383 he was still in great difficulties. The amount, 24 years, represents the whole interval from his first accession to his death, including the interruptions.

16 Alexander II the eldest son of Amyntas reigned nearly two years, within B. C. 369—367, and was assassinated by Ptolemy Alorites, who held the government 3 years, although neither king nor son of Amyntas. In 364 Perdiccas the second son of Amyntas slew Ptolemy and acquired the kingdom.

17 Perdiccas III reigned 5 years, and fell in a great battle with the Illyrians in the archonship of Callimedes, in the beginning of 359. The space of 40 years between the death of Archelaus in the beginning of 399 and the accession of Philip in the beginning of 359 is thus distributed by Diodorus :

<i>Aeropus and Orestes...</i>	<i>6y.</i>
<i>Pausanias</i> .....	1
<i>Amyntas II</i> .....	24
<i>Alexander II</i> .....	1
<i>Ptolem. Alorites</i> .....	3
<i>Perdiccas III</i> .....	5

The joint reigns of Orestes and Aeropus were something less than six years. But, to compensate for this, the reign of Alexander was something more than one; so that the total amount of 40 years is not affected.

18 Philip II, the 18th king, computed from Caranus, and the 11th in descent from Perdiccas I (both extremes being included), and the third son of Amyntas, succeeded his brother at 23 years of age in the beginning of 359. He reigned about 23 years and a half, and died at the age of 47 in the summer of B. C. 336. Philip was 13 years of age at the death of his father Amyntas and the accession of his elder brother Alexander in 369. During some period of his early life he was placed at Thebes, where he profited by the instructions of Pelopidas and Epaminondas; for an alliance was made with Thebes during the administration of the regent Ptolemy.

Philip from the moment of his accession without any interval of repose or preparation was immediately engaged in encountering the dangers which surrounded him. The defeat of Argæus and the Athenians, the peace concluded with Athens, the expedition into Pæonia and Illyria, were the operations of his first campaign. He acquired Amphipolis in 358, Potidæa in 356, Pagasæ in 353, from which year Demosthenes seems to date his hostile designs against Greece. Philip in 349 besieged Olynthus, which surrendered in 347. He concluded peace with the Athenians, and occupied Phocis in 346. In 342, 341 he passed 10 months in Thrace, and wintered there; besieged Perinthus and Byzantium in 340 and 339. He is chosen Amphictyonic general in spring 338, occupies Elatea in June, and defeats the Greek confederates at Chæronea on the 2nd of August: Philip survived that victory less than two years.

19 Alexander III was born in 356 in the Macedonian month Lous, on the 6th of the Attic Hecatombæon. He died in 323 on the 28th or 29th of the Macedonian Dæsius, being the 6th of the Attic Thargelion. The observation of Ælian that the death of Alexander and his birth happened upon the same day of the month, namely the 6th, is confirmed by Plutarch. He was born on the 6th of Hecatombæon, he died on the 6th of Thargelion. According to Aristobulus



Alexander lived 32½ 8<sup>m</sup> and reigned 12½ 8<sup>m</sup>. Aristobulus therefore reckoned him to be just 20 years of age at his accession, which confirms that he began to reign in Hecatom-bæon of the archon Pythodemus.

Our faithful guide Arrian determines the campaigns of Alexander by marking the dates of the principal events. Mr. Mitford has too much neglected Arrian in fixing the times of the transactions of Alexander's reign. It will be seen by the Tables, that Alexander passed into Asia in spring B. C. 334; that *four winters* intervened between his arrival in Asia and the death of Darius; that this event happened in the *fifth* campaign of Alexander in Asia. It will be further seen, that *four winters* intervened between the death of Darius and the defeat of Porus; that two campaigns were consumed in the northern provinces, a third in India west of the Indus, and a fourth beyond the Indus, in which Porus was encountered. Now, Mitford has deranged the times of these transactions. He supposes Alexander to be "toward twenty-seven" at the conclusion of that campaign in which Bessus was tried and put to death, during the winter quarters at Bactra: and "twenty-two" when he passed into Asia: which nearly describes the actual interval. Again, he rightly specifies the date of Arrian for the battle of Arbela, B. C. 331. And yet he calls the operations of the following year "Alexander's *fourth* campaign in Asia." He rightly dates the pursuit of Darius B. C. 330. But the operations of the next year are called "the *fifth* campaign in Asia." Having marked the date B. C. 330 for the death of Darius, he dates the winter quarters of Alexander at Nautaca, after the Sogdian war, B. C. 329, 328, which implies an interval of only *one* winter between the death of Darius and the Sogdian war. And yet Mitford himself, following Arrian, has marked *two* winters between the death of Darius and the quarters at Nautaca: "Autumn was already advanced." And he arrived at the Oxus "with advancing spring." This, then, is the *first* winter, B. C. 328½. He notices the "advanced summer" during the operations beyond the Oxus; and afterwards, "winter approaching, he moved for quarters to Zariaspa." This was the *second* winter: B. C. 328½. Then he relates the Sogdian war. After which "winter approached" again. A *third*

winter, then, after the death of Darius: consequently the winter of B. C. 32 $\frac{8}{7}$ .

Mitford had supposed the battle of Issus and the siege and capture of Tyre to have happened in the same summer, and to have formed parts of the *second* campaign. Hence he assigns a year too little to the succeeding campaigns; the *fourth* campaign is called the *third*; the *fifth* is called the *fourth*; and so of the rest. This defect of a year it seems his purpose to supply by supposing the sieges of the two hill forts and the marriage of Roxana to have "consumed the summer." So that, after Chorienes had surrendered, another winter arrived, which was passed at Bactra, or Zariaspa. He again mentions these "winter quarters at Bactra" as the period of the death of Clitus, and the conspiracy of the band of pages; "in the winter quarters still of Bactra." And Alexander waited in these winter quarters "till the spring was considerably advanced" before he set out for the Indus. Mitford, therefore, although he rightly dates the Indian expedition in the spring of 327, yet in the detail has made it a year later, and has interposed *four* winters after the death of Darius instead of three.

After the passage of the Indus, he supposes with Diodorus another winter, before the battle with Porus. "At Taxila he took his winter quarters." When Alexander forded the Hydaspes, "spring was advanced." Thus he renders ὥρα ἔτους ἧ μετὰ τροπᾶς μάλιστα ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος; misled, as it should seem, by the false reading μουνυχιῶνος. He has therefore enumerated *five* winters between the death of Darius and the passage of the Hydaspes. These five winters would obviously bring down the engagement with Porus as low as 325; a date, at which, according to Mitford himself, Alexander had already arrived in Susiana.

When Alexander took his head quarters at Zariaspa, after his marriage with Roxana, he is said to be "now but about in his twenty-sixth year:" and yet this period is the winter of B. C. 32 $\frac{8}{7}$  according to Mitford himself. And, according to Mitford himself, Alexander passed into Asia at twenty-two, in the spring of 334; an interval of near seven years, instead of five. It is correctly stated that "at the early age of twenty-four" Alexander took possession of Egypt.

Mitford, therefore, by neglecting the true time of the surrender of Tyre, has lost a year between the first passage of Alexander into Asia and the death of Darius. He has again, by neglecting the chronology of the campaigns in the northern provinces, interpolated a year between the death of Darius and the defeat of Porus.

For the revolutions in the Macedonian government, during 43 years which followed the death of Alexander, our best guide is Dexippus, who describes Philip Aridæus, Olympias, Cassander, Demetrius, Pyrrhus, Lysimachus, and their successors.

According to Dexippus the nineteen years of Cassander are to be computed, not from the death of Philip Aridæus, but from the death of Olympias, about 16 months afterward, in the beginning of 315. Cassander then died in the beginning of 296. The deaths of Lysimachus Seleucus and Ptolemy Ceraunus fell nearly within Ol. 124. Ptolemy son of Lagus after a reign of 40 years, computed from the death of Alexander, died in the beginning of 283. Seleucus was slain after reigning 32 years from the autumn of 312 (the era of the Seleucidæ) in January 280, seven months after the fall of Lysimachus.

Dexippus places the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus 17 months after the death of Seleucus. But we must here prefer the nine months of Eusebius as more consistent with Polybius and with the events of the Gallic war, and we must suppose the 17 months to represent the whole interval from the death of Lysimachus, who was slain in the 17th month current before the death of Ceraunus.

Lysimachus, who was slain in the summer of 281, had reigned or governed more than 40 years. This space must be computed from the first division of the provinces made at Babylon by Perdiccas, when Thrace was given to Lysimachus. At the period of his defeat and death he had reigned in Macedonia 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The date of his death fixes the beginning of that space to the commencement of B. C. 286. At that time Pyrrhus had held Macedonia 7 or 8 months. He therefore occupied it in 287, and in that year expelled Demetrius Poliorcetes. Having fixed this point, we are enabled to ascend to the occupation of Macedonia by Demetrius 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  6 $\frac{1}{2}$  before. As this space terminated about June 287, it might



commence about December 294. There were therefore about 2y 10<sup>m</sup> between the death of Cassander and the reign of Demetrius. That period was filled by the sons of Cassander. Philippus reigned first; the rest of the interval was occupied by the contests of the surviving brothers, Antipater and Alexander, till Demetrius slew Alexander in 294 and reigned in his stead.

At the close of this period of 43 years from the death of Alexander son of Philip the foundations of the Achæan League were laid according to Polybius. He fixes the commencement, or rather revival, of the League to Ol. 124 and to the period of the passage of Pyrrhus into Italy. He relates that the confederacy subsisted 25 years before the appointment of an annual prætor; that at the end of 25 years Marcus of Cerynea was appointed; that in the *fourth* year after the prætorship of Marcus Aratus delivered Sicyon; and that in the eighth year after that achievement Aratus was prætor for the second time, in the year before the defeat of the Carthaginians.

The five years being included in the 25, we obtain the following distribution :

	y.	B. C.
League of Dyme, Patræ, Tritæa, Pharæ... 5	} 25	{ 280
Addition of Ægium ..... 20		
Marcus Cerynensis prætor .....	4	255
Aratus delivers Sicyon .....	8	251
Aratus prætor the second time .....	1	243
The Carthaginians defeated at the Ægates	}	March 241
<i>Lutatio et Postumio coss.</i> .....		

26 Antigonus Gonatas son of Demetrius and grandson of the first Antigonus died in B. C. 239 at the age of 80, after a reign of 44 years. These 44 years were computed from the death of his father some time in 283, and terminated in 239. But his reign of ten years preceding his recovery of Macedonia commenced at the captivity of Demetrius in 286; they terminated in 277, three years after the death of Ceraunus.

The three years captivity of Demetrius Poliorcetes began at the expulsion of Pyrrhus by Lysimachus. His captivity happened in the winter of Ol. 123. 2 about January 286;

the three years determine his death to the beginning of 283. Respecting his age there is some variation. He is said to be 22 about September 312, which would suppose his birth in 334; and yet 54 at his death in the beginning of 283, which gives 337 for his birth. The latter date is the most probable, from the age of his son Antigonus. Demetrius married Phila daughter of Antipater after the death of her first husband Craterus, who fell in 321. Antigonus the offspring of that marriage, who died at the age of 80 in 239, was born in 318, when Demetrius by the largest computation of his age was no more than 19; the larger computation is therefore the most probable.

27 Demetrius II. Polybius agrees with Dexippus in giving 10 years to this Demetrius. "Demetrius reigned only 10 years, and died about the time of the first passage of the Romans into Illyricum." The Romans entered Illyricum in 229, precisely 10 years after the death of Antigonus Gonatas.

28 Antigonus Doson. The nine years of Diodorus are confirmed by Polybius. Antigonus died soon after his victory at Sellasia, which was gained in 222. His successor was in the throne in 220. This king therefore reigned only nine years.

29 Philippus V. The two limits of his reign, his accession and his death, are accurately marked by Polybius and Livy, and verify the 42 years ascribed to him by Dexippus. He was already king at 17 years of age, when Ariston was prætor of the Ætolians and Timoxenus of the Achæans. Ariston was prætor from autumn 221 to autumn 220; the year of Timoxenus extended from spring 221 to spring 220. We may therefore place his accession in the very beginning of 220. His death is placed by Livy in 179. He reigned therefore B. C. 220—179, almost 42 years.

30 Perseus. The battle of Pydna is fixed by the eclipse which happened the night before to June 22 B. C. 168. Perseus was taken in Samothrace soon after. The actual duration of his reign was about 10½ 8<sup>m</sup>, the amount expressed in the fragments of Porphyry.

§ 5 From the date of the battle of *Marathon* we ascend to the beginning of the *Ionian war*. Ten years are specified by Herodotus. In the first of these the Ionian revolt began, in

the last Datis and Artaphernes passed over into Greece. Six years were occupied by the Ionian war. In the first of these, in the year 499, Sardis was burnt by the Ionians; which brought out all the Persians within the Halys, who pursued the Ionians down to Ephesus. This brings the first campaign to the close of 499. Cyprus revolted after the revolt of Ionia, and retained its freedom a year. Soli was besieged 5 months current. The Cyprian war, then, in which Cyprus was recovered, occupied the second campaign, in 498. Meanwhile the Persian leaders after their victory at Ephesus plundered the Greek towns: one leader is engaged on the Hellespont, when Caria revolts, and he marches into Caria. Then follows a campaign in Caria, which would occupy the year 498, contemporary with the war in Cyprus. A second leader proceeds to the Propontis and afterwards to the Hellespont; where he dies during the war in Caria; a third, invading Ionia and Æolis, captures Clazomenæ and Cyme. All these operations were conducted in distant quarters, and evidently within the campaign of 498. After all these transactions, Aristagoras quitted Miletus. Some space elapsed between his departure and his death, which brings down that event to the beginning of the third campaign, 497. At the end of the fifth campaign B. C. 495 the Persians prepare for the assault of Miletus, which is taken in the sixth campaign 494. In the seventh year the Persian fleets occupied the islands. The eighth campaign was employed in the expedition of Mardonius, who set forth in spring of 492. In the ninth year Darius after dismantling Thasos sent heralds into Greece. Then followed a tenth year 490, in which Datis and Artaphernes are sent against Athens and Eretria. The armament of Mardonius, the mission of the heralds, the expedition under Datis, are distinguished as three separate and successive years of action.

The battle of Marathon is determined to Boedromion of B. C. 490, ten years before the battle of Salamis. All ancient authorities—Plato, Thucydides, the Parian Marble, Aristides—concur in computing ten years and no more between the two actions. Herodotus, when rightly interpreted, agrees in the same period. He relates that after the battle of Marathon all Asia was in commotion for three years; that in the fourth year Egypt rebelled, that in the year after this revolt Darius



died, that in the next year Xerxes recovered Egypt; that he then employed four years in preparation, and that in the beginning of the fifth year he marched against Greece. All these events are included within ten years, as the following scheme will shew :

3.	
1	Marathon. 1st year
2	2nd year
3	3rd year
4	in the 4th year Egypt revolts
5	XERXES. In the next year DARIUS died.
6	In the next year after his death Egypt is recovered. 1st year of the 4
7	2nd year
8	3rd year
9	4th year
10	In the 5th year Xerxes marched.

In the march of Xerxes in the beginning of the 5th year the historian means to describe the setting forth of Xerxes from Sardis to Abydos in the spring of the year 480; for he speaks of the commencement of the expedition, and this could not be said to begin with the arrival of Xerxes in 481 at Sardis, where he wintered. The expedition or campaign began with the march to the Hellespont. It has been objected that this is a distinction without a difference, to question whether the expedition of Xerxes commenced from Susa in 481 or from Sardis in 480; that the expedition was truly and properly commenced when Xerxes set forth from Susa; that his army could not have marched from Persia to Sardis in less than four months, and that he set out from Susa in the autumn of 481 and arrived at Sardis in the winter. But it may be answered that the army of Xerxes never marched from Persia at all. The troops were appointed to assemble in Cappadocia, where Xerxes joined them, a distance of nearly three months from Susa. And this fact, that no army assembled at Susa, and that Xerxes made a progress into Cappadocia before he could assume the command, justifies and confirms the opinion that Herodotus did not date the expedition from Susa, but that he reckoned it to begin with the campaign in which the hostile territory was entered.

Four years were completed from the reduction of Egypt, and in the commencement of the 5th Xerxes set forth from

Sardis in spring 480. The reduction of Egypt then was already effected in the spring of 484, and at that epoch, spring 484, one year had elapsed and a second had commenced, from the death of Darius. He was already dead then before the spring of 485; and this computation critically agrees with the Astronomical Canon; for according to that authority the accession of Xerxes was in N. E. 263 which commenced at Dec. 23 B. C. 486. Herodotus then agrees with the Canon in placing the accession of Xerxes in the beginning of 485.

§ 6 After the victories of Plataea and Mycale in 479, the Greeks immediately followed up their success. Sestos was besieged and taken in the spring of 478. No space intervened between the surrender of Sestos and the acts of Pausanias. After the year of his command had expired, the Athenians immediately assumed the command. The 73 years of their presidency commenced in the year 477 and terminated at the capture of Athens by Lysander in the spring of 404.

§ 7 The Lacedæmonian empire followed that of Athens. It is called an empire of 10 years by one writer, or "scarcely 12 years," or "not three Olympiads," by others. These numbers are consistent. The 10 years end at the battle of Cnidus in the summer of 394; the term of "scarcely 12 years" or "not three Olympiads," also ending at the battle of Cnidus, takes its beginning from the battle of Ægospotami, from which action to the battle of Cnidus were 12 years current.

Demosthenes however and Dionysius of Halicarnassus assign 29 years, or 30 years current, to the Lacedæmonian empire. This term may be deduced from the battle of Ægospotami, and extends to the battle of Naxos, which was gained by Chabrias in September 376. Including both extremes and computing both archons, Alexias in 405, and Charisander in 376, we have 30 years, the number of Dionysius; counting the intermediate space, we have 29 years, the number of Demosthenes.

§ 8 The *Summary of Thucydides*, containing a brief sketch of the events which occurred between the Persian war and the Peloponnesian, embraces an actual space of 47 years B.C. 478

—432; which may be divided into three portions. The first division is terminated by the Revolt of Thasos and the attempt to establish a colony on the Strymon, events which are fixed by Thucydides to the year 465. From this date we are carried back to the siege of Sestos in 479, the last event recorded by Herodotus, and the first recorded by Thucydides, forming the connexion between the two historians. The second division is terminated by an expedition of Pericles which is fixed to 454. The third division contains the space between that date and the Peloponnesian war, an interval of 23 years, nearly one half of the whole period.

I Within the first division in a space of 13 years the following events are recorded. 1 The Athenians rebuild their walls and complete the walls of the Piræus. 2 The expedition of Pausanias to Cyprus and the siege of Byzantium which was taken in the year of his command. 3 In 477 the allies, disgusted with Pausanias, transfer the command to the Athenians. 4 The siege and capture of Eion on the Strymon is the first act of Cimon. 5 Scyros is reduced. 6 War with the Carystians of Eubœa. 7 Naxos is besieged and surrenders; the first of the confederate states that was reduced to servitude. 8 After these things the battles of the Eurymedon. 9 In 465, afterwards the revolt of Thasos.

II The next division of 11 years, 465—455 is a busy period, full of interesting events, which it is the purpose of Thucydides for the most part to relate in the order of time. 1 In 465 with the revolt of Thasos is connected as happening at the same time the colony at Drabescus. 2 In 464 the earthquake at Sparta and revolt of the Helots. 3 In 463 Thasos surrenders in the third year.

In the remaining 8 years are these events. 4 In 461, the Athenians marching to assist at the siege of Ithome are dismissed, and connect themselves with the Argives. For the sake of clearness in his narration, he here suspends the order of time to follow the order of events, and relates the result of the Messenian war, which ended in the 10th year with the surrender of Ithome and the settlement of the Messenians at Naupactus.

5 Resuming the order of time, he relates as the next event to the return of the Athenian succours from Peloponnesus,



and the alliance formed with Argos, that the Athenians gain Megara and Pegæ. 6 In 460 Revolt of Inarus. The Athenians, who had 200 ships at this time at Cyprus, sailed to Egypt to his assistance. 7 The Athenians are beaten at Haliaë by the Corinthians, and are victorious at Cecryphalæ. They defeat the Æginetans in a great battle. 8 After this series of actions he relates that the Corinthians and Peloponnesians securing the heights of Gerania (in 457) descend with their forces into the lands of Megara. The Athenians, without withdrawing from Ægina, though at the same time occupied with the war in Egypt, march out under Myronides, and a battle ensues in which both claim the victory, but the advantage is with the Athenians. Twelve days after the Corinthians march out again to erect their trophy; the Athenians issue forth upon them and gain a victory; the Corinthians retreating are surrounded in a deep place and cut off by the Athenians.

9 About the time of these transactions the Athenians began their long walls. 10 The Lacedæmonians (also at the same time) march against the Phocians, who had invaded Doris. 11 In their return being intercepted by the Athenians, who are now in possession of the passes of the Isthmus, they halt in Boeotia. 12 A design is mentioned of subverting the democracy at Athens, and preventing the completion of the long walls, while the Lacedæmonian army lay in the neighbourhood. 13 The Athenians with their allies the Argives, to the number of 14,000, and with some Thessalian cavalry, who desert in the action, are defeated at Tanagra. The Lacedæmonians, having obtained by their victory a free passage, retire into Peloponnesus. 14 In 456, on the 62nd day after the battle of Tanagra, the Athenians attack the Boeotians when their allies had left them and are victorious at Cœno-phyta.

15 The Athenians finish their long walls, and Ægina after these events surrenders. 16 In 455 Tolmides (at the same time with the surrender of Ægina) circumnavigates Peloponnesus and ravages Laconia. 17 During these transactions, the Athenians in Egypt still held out. Their surrender is now related, as the next event in the order of time to the campaign of Tolmides. Thucydides had deferred noticing the

progress of the Egyptian war that he might not interrupt the narrative of affairs in Greece. Having now arrived in the order of time at the conclusion of that war, he digresses into a review of the preceding particulars. He relates that at the beginning the Athenians had the advantage; that the court of Persia had sent Megabazus to Sparta in the hope of bribing the Lacedæmonians to invade Attica, in which he failed; that the Persians had then raised a large force which finally recovered Egypt (except the country held by Amyrtæus in the marshes) after a war of six years.

18 Returning to the order of his narrative, he relates that the Athenians undertook an expedition to Pharsalus for the purpose of restoring Orestes a Thessalian prince. This is the last occurrence in the series of 11 years which form the second division of the period. The next event recorded is fixed by circumstances to 454. The war in Egypt, which was carried on during six of these eleven years, terminated in 455.

III The last division of the space contained in the Summary, a space of 23 years, is determined as to its leading dates by Thucydides himself. It ends in 432, and that year was the 14th of the 30 years' truce. Before that truce was a truce of 5 years, and before the five years' truce an interval of three years following the campaign of Pericles.

	y.
Campaign of Pericles .....	1
Three years' interval .....	3
Five years' truce.....	5
Thirty years' truce, first 14 years	14
	<hr/>
	23

The campaign of Pericles could not be later than 454, because 22 years followed it, of which the last was 432. It could not be earlier, because the expedition of Tolmides, which preceded it, was in 455. The events of the first 15 years of this period are recorded in the order in which they happened. 1 (454) Not long after the expedition to Thessaly and the close of the war in Egypt, Pericles embarking at Pegæ sails to Sicyon; and thence taking on board his Achæan auxiliaries proceeds to Acarnania, and besieging Œniadæ without success

returns home. 2 'Then followed three years, after which, in 450, a five years' truce is concluded with the Peloponnesians. 3 (450, 449) The Athenians abstain from war in Greece, and send Cimon with 200 ships to Cyprus. But this cessation from war at home did not extend to the whole duration of the truce; for the battle of Coronea was fought in the fourth year of the truce, in autumn 447. 4 A part of the ships being detached to Egypt to assist Amyrtæus, the rest besiege Cition. But, Cimon dying, the siege is abandoned. 5 After the death of Cimon they defeat the Phœnician and Cilician ships and forces off Salamis in Cyprus, and then return home. 6 After these things, the sacred war; in which the Lacedæmonians give the possession of the oracle and temple to the Delphians. 7 As soon as the Lacedæmonians were withdrawn, the Athenians restore the presidency to the Phocians. 8 (447) After some interval the Athenians march into Bœotia and occupy Chæronea. In their return home they are attacked and defeated at Coronea, and obliged to evacuate the whole of Bœotia. 9 (445) Not long afterwards Eubœa revolts from Athens. 10 As Pericles was passing into Eubœa, news arrived that Megara had revolted, and that the Peloponnesians prepared to invade Attica. 11 (445) Pericles hastily withdraws from Eubœa, and after this the Peloponnesians penetrate to Eleusis. Advancing no further, they return home. 12 Returning to Eubœa, Pericles recovers the whole island. 13 Not long after, the 30 years' truce is concluded. The Athenians cede Nisæa, Achaia, Pegæ and Trœzen. 14 (440) In the 6th year of the truce Samos and Byzantium revolt. 15 (439) Samos surrenders in the ninth month of the siege. Byzantium is also recovered. The summary concludes with the surrender of Samos; the subsequent events at Coreyra and Potidæa had been already told at large. The sea-fight between the Corinthians and Coreyræans in 435 was about five years after the revolt of Samos.

§ 9 ARISTAGORAS was slain in Thrace in the beginning of 497. In 465, 32 years after that event, ten thousand colonists from Athens occupied Ennea Hodoi on the Strymon. Sophanes and Leagrus led this colony, but Leagrus, whose son Glaucon commanded a fleet in 432, and whose grandson Leagrus was



named by the comic poet Plato, held the chief authority. This colony imprudently advancing into the interior was cut off at Drabescus by the natives. In the 29th year after this attempt, Agnon son of Nicias in 437 planted a colony at Ennea Hodoi, to which he gave the name of Amphipolis.

A scholiast upon Æschines records nine failures sustained by the Athenians at Amphipolis; two of these before, the other seven after the colony founded by Agnon. The first repulse was in the archonship of Phædon in 476, when the Athenian commanders Lysistratus Lycurgus and Cratinus besieged and took Eion on the Strymon, and were cut off with their forces by the Thracians. The second when the above-mentioned colonists under Leagrus were destroyed in the archonship of Lysitheus<sup>a</sup> in B. C. 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The third failure was in 424 when Thucydides lost Amphipolis to Brasidas, 13 years after the colony had been founded by Agnon. The fourth, when Cleon was defeated and slain in 422 in the archonship of Alcæus. The fifth, when the Athenians who dwelt at Eion were expelled. The sixth, when the general Symbicus and his forces were destroyed. The failure of Protomachus was the seventh. The eighth defeat was in the archonship of Timocrates in 364, when Alcimachus delivered himself up to the Thracians. The ninth, when Timotheus was vanquished in the year of Callimedes in 360. The two last were in the reign of Perdiccas III king of Macedonia; the ninth, a few months before the accession of Philip.

§ 10 SYRACUSE subsisted as an independent state about 522 years, from its foundation by Archias of Corinth to its overthrow by Marcellus in B. C. 212. Its foundation may be placed at B. C. 734, 19 years later than the Varronian era of Rome. According to Thucydides, Leontium and Catana were founded in the fifth year after Syracuse, and about the same time Lamis attempted a settlement at Trotilus; and, after having coalesced for a short time with the Leontines, was driven from thence and slain at Thapsus. His followers withdrawing from Thapsus founded Megara Hyblæa, 245 years before its conquest by Gelon. But Megara was acquired by Gelon about

<sup>a</sup> The text of the scholiast, by an error of the transcriber, has *Λυσικράτους* for *Λυσιθέου*.

the year 484 or 483; which places its foundation at about 728, six years below the era of Syracuse. Thucydides also determines that Camarina was founded 135 years after Syracuse. But as we know from other evidence that the era of Camarina was at B. C. 599, we hence obtain a confirmation of the epoch 734 for Syracuse.

Gela was founded in the 45th year after Syracuse, in B. C. 690. In the year 505, the 185th year from its foundation, Cleander was tyrant of Gela for 7 years, then in 498 Hippocrates also for 7 years, then Gelon, in 491; whose first establishment was at Gela, and who became tyrant of Syracuse in 485.

From 485 to its capture by Marcellus, a period of 273 years, Syracuse passed through the following revolutions.

Er. Syr.		Y. M.		B. C.
250	Gelon .....	7	.....	485
257	Hiero .....	11	.....	478
268	Thrasybulus .....	1	.....	467
269	<i>I Interval</i> .....	60	.....	466
329	Dionysius .....	38. 3	.....	406
368	Dionysius junior ...	11. 6	.....	367
379	Dion .....	3	.....	356
382	Callippus .....	1. 1	.....	353
383	Hipparinus .....	2	.....	352
385	<i>II Interval</i> .....	6	.....	350
391	Timoleon .....	7	.....	344
398	<i>III Interval</i> .....	20	.....	337
418	Agathocles .....	28	.....	317
446	<i>IV Interval</i> .....	14	.....	289
460	} Hiero II {	prætor ... (5)	.....	275
465		king .....	54	..... 270
519	Hieronimus .....	1. 1	.....	216
521	<i>Siege of Syracuse</i> ...	2	.....	214
523	— taken by Marcellus .....			212

Those who prefer the authority of Aristotle in the times of Gelon and Hiero will cut off a year from the beginning or the end of the period here assigned to Gelon Hiero and Thrasybulus. But as Diodorus is consistent in his dates, as Hiero survived the 78th Olympiad, as the period of *almost 60 years*

brings down the expulsion of Thrasybulus to the end of 466, and as Diodorus is entitled to better credit upon *Sicilian* history than upon other parts of his subject, I have adopted his date for Hiero; which enlarges the chronology of Aristotle by the addition of one year, and makes the duration of this dynasty 19 years instead of 18.

§ 11 We may recapitulate here some of the dates which are established upon testimony, and expressed in the tables between the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily and the battle of Mantinea.

The Athenians after their defeat in Sicily in 413, and their factions at home in 411, and the revolt of their allies in 412, 411, still held out three years B.C. 407—404. Lysander, on his arrival at Ephesus towards the end of 406, made his preparations during the winter, was still there in Anthesterion 405, put to sea in the spring, and finally moved with his armament to Lampsacus in the summer, in the beginning of the year of Alexias. His victory of Ægospotami followed. A few months afterwards, in Munychion 404, Munychion of the same archon, Athens surrendered to Lysander.

Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian commander in Asia in 399, was suspended before he had completed his term; and in the same year 399 his successor Dercyllidas was in command; for Dercyllidas had three seasons of action, the last in 397; the first therefore in 399. In 396 Agesilaus was already in Asia.

The peace of Antalcidas was concluded about autumn 387. The Olynthian war began in 382, Teleutias fell in 381, Agesipolis died in 380, and Phlius, after a siege of twenty months, surrendered in 379. The peace concluded at Sparta, which preceded the battle of Leuctra, was 20 days before that battle; the dates of both are ascertained—the peace on the 14th of Scirophorion, the battle on the 6th of Hecatombæon in the year 371. Nine years afterwards, on the 12th of Scirophorion 362, Epaminondas fell at Mantinea.

§ 12 The *Cyprian war*, in which Evagoras contended against the forces of Persia, lasted 10 years; and commenced in B. C. 385, for the sixth year was current in 380.

Evagoras was engaged in hostile measures against the Per-



sian government for some years before that war began. In 391, when Teleutias was the Lacedæmonian naval commander, assistance was sent to Evagoras then making war upon the king. This refers to the period at which Evagoras made himself master of the whole island of Cyprus. Again, in 388, Chabrias sailed to Cyprus to assist Evagoras. On these accounts Evagoras was excluded from the treaty of Antalcidas in 387. After this treaty the Persian government had leisure to prepare for the reduction of Cyprus, and Evagoras sustained a war of 10 years. Artaxerxes expended upon that war 15,000 talents, and reduced Cyprus in 376. Evagoras died two years afterwards, and at his death in 374 had reigned or governed upwards of 30 years.

§ 13 The TAURIC CHERSONESE is compared by Strabo to Peloponnesus in form and extent. It is joined to the continent on the north-west by an isthmus of various breadth, and separated from it on the north-east by a strait, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the breadth of which varies from 30 to 70 furlongs. The southern coast of the Chersonese is rugged and mountainous, rising in some parts to the height of 1200 feet above the level of the Euxine. Towards either continent the country becomes low and level, and on the east, where the kingdom of Bosphorus was seated, it was eminently fertile. Panticapæum or Bosphorus, the metropolis, a Milesian colony, was situated on the western edge of the strait, where the breadth of the channel is about eight English miles. From Panticapæum the territory extended eastward on the opposite coasts of the strait, and westward along a fertile line of coast, well known to the Athenian merchants, for 53 or 70 miles to Theudisia, also a Milesian colony, described by Demosthenes in the reign of Leucon as not inferior to Bosphorus in wealth and commerce. Westward of Theudisia were the mountains by which this kingdom was bounded on the inland side. This fertile region was the granary of Greece and especially of Athens, which drew annually from thence in the age of Demosthenes a supply of 400,000<sup>b</sup> medimni of corn.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo VII p. 311 in the present text affirms that Leucon sent annually from Theudisia to Athens 2,410,000 medimni—*μυριάδας διακοσίας καὶ δέκα*. But as this amount is incredible, especially when compared with Demosthe-

In this rich but narrow territory the following kings reigned within the period with which we are now engaged.

	Y.	M.	B.C.
1 Archæanactidæ ...	42 ...		...(480)
2 Spartocus I .....	7 ...		... 438
3 Seleucus .....	4 ...		... 431
* * *	(20)...		...(427)
4 Satyrus I.....	14 ...		...(407)
5 Leucon.....	40 ...		... 393
6 Spartocus II .....	5 ...		... 353
7 Parysades .....	38 ...		... 348
8 Satyrus II .....		9 ...	310
9 Prytanis			
10 Eumelus .....	5 ...	5 ...	309
11 Spartocus III .....	20 ...		... 304—285

The successors of Spartocus III continued to reign in Bosphorus till the time of Parysades, who delivered up his kingdom to the sixth Mithridates king of Pontus. Mithridates Eupator began to reign about B. C. 120, and might acquire the Tauric Chersonese about 175 years after the death of Spartocus III.

§ 14 Hecatomnus king of Caria had three sons, Mausolus Idrieus and Pixodarus, and two daughters; of whom the eldest Artemisia was married to Mausolus the eldest brother. The other daughter Ada was married to the second brother Idrieus. Mausolus reigned and died without issue. He was succeeded by his wife Artemisia, who erected the celebrated monument to his memory. She dying, Idrieus reigned, and his wife Ada succeeded him; but Pixodarus the third brother expelled Ada and reigned in her stead. When Alexander conquered Caria, Ada persuaded him to restore her. The reigns of these princes may be placed upon evidence at the following years.

nes, we may either read in the text of Strabo *χιλιάδας διακοσίας καὶ δέκα*, 210,000 medimni, or, with the epitomator, *μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα*, 150,000 medimni. These amounts, 210,000, or

150,000, might represent the quantity sent from Theudosia alone; the 400,000 of Demosthenes the quantity imported from the whole kingdom.

	Y.	B.C.
1 Hecatomnus .....	...	(385)
2 Mausolus .....	24	...(377)
3 Artemisia .....	2	... 353
4 Idrieus .....	7	... 351
5 Ada .....	4	... 344
6 Pixodarus .....	5	... 340
<i>Interval</i> .....	1	... 335
Ada restored .....	—	... 334

§ 15 Alexander of Pheræ began to reign in the autumn of 369. He was slain at the end of the archonship of Callimedes, before Hecatombæon or July 359. His reign therefore was something less than ten years, instead of eleven years assigned by Diodorus. Tisiphonus, who succeeded him, might fill the interval till the archonship of Agathocles B. C. 357, when Lycophron his brother reigned at Pheræ.

§ 16 The *Amphissian war* was excited by Æschines at the vernal session of the Amphictyons in 339, in the year of the archon Theophrastus. At that session the proceedings happened from which the war originated. Then followed another Amphictyonic meeting before the regular time of their session, when Cottyphus of Pharsalus was appointed general, and led the first expedition against the Amphissians. But, when the check which they received from Cottyphus was not effectual, the Amphictyons elected Philip general at the next spring session.

At the time of the extraordinary session at which Cottyphus was appointed general, Philip was absent in Scythia. We may collect his transactions in the year 339 to be these. He raised the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium in the spring, towards the close of the archonship of Theophrastus, being repelled in that quarter by an Athenian force under Phocion. Disappointed in his views at Byzantium and the Hellespont, he turned his arms against the Scythians, and advanced as far as the Danube. In his return from this Scythian war he engaged the Triballi and was wounded. These affairs occupied Philip after he withdrew from the Hellespont during the remainder of the year 339. Upon his failure at Byzantium he concluded a peace with the Athenians and their



allies. During the existence of this peace, he prosecuted the war in Scythia.

At the following vernal session, in which Philip was elected general, we may collect that he had returned to Macedonia. The vote which appointed him general was immediately followed up by his advancing into Greece and seizing Elatea. But this town was occupied in Scirophorion of the archon Lysimachides, the decree was passed in the spring of the same archon, and his election was four months before his march to Elatea. He is appointed in February, he is in action in June, he requires the forces to meet him in July. Two actions are mentioned by Demosthenes which were preludes to the general action, and this decisive battle was fought at Chæronea fifty days after the news arrived at Athens of Philip's entrance into Phocis. Within these limits happened the capture of Amphissa and the two engagements which are marked by the orator, and which might occur near Chæronea.

Let those who incline to think that the space of fifty days from the 15th of Scirophorion to the 7th of Metagitnion is an interval too short for this war call to mind the narrow limits of the field of action. Elatea is about 43 English miles from Thebes, 78 from Athens, and 23 from Amphissa. The road from Athens and Thebes to Elatea is through Chæronea, which is distant from Thebes about 27 English miles, from Elatea 16, and from Athens 62. The French war in 1815, a war of infinitely greater importance, in which much greater forces were collected from far more distant points, was terminated in three months after its commencement.

§ 17 The years of the kings of LYDIA from Gyges to Cræsus are thus given by Herodotus.

	Y.
1 Gyges .....	38
2 Ardys .....	49
3 Sadyattes .....	12
4 Alyattes .....	57
5 Cræsus.....	14

Although Crœsus reigned only 14 years, yet it seems probable that he was associated in the government by his father, as Wesseling and Larcher have argued. It is observed that during this period of joint government many of those things might have been performed which are ascribed to Crœsus king of Lydia. 1 According to Herodotus he received advice from Pittacus, who died in 570. 2 Alcmaeon received presents from Crœsus in the generation before the marriage of Agariste daughter of Clisthenes of Sicyon. But Clisthenes was already tyrant of Sicyon in 595 at the time of the Cirrhæan war, and his reign of 31 years had ended certainly not later than 564, four years before Crœsus began to reign. An argument that Crœsus must have seen Alcmaeon earlier than the year 560. 3 The transactions of Crœsus are these. First the siege of Ephesus, then the subjugation successively of all the towns of Ionia and Æolis; then, after a time, when Sardis had arrived at its full complement of riches, the wise men of Greece resorted to his court. Then followed the death of the son of Crœsus, who mourned for him two years. After this period, he becomes jealous of the rising power of Cyrus. All these particulars could scarcely have occurred within the space of ten or twelve years, to which the limits of the reign of Crœsus would confine them. Probably then the conquest of Ionia and of the other countries was in part effected in the lifetime of Alyattes. 4 Among the nations subdued by Crœsus in the enumeration of Herodotus are the Carians. But the conquest of Caria is distinctly ascribed to Alyattes by Nicolaus of Damascus, from Xanthus of Lydia; and Crœsus, who was at that time invested with the government of Adramyttium and the adjoining country (so that Æolis is already conquered), was required to join his father with troops to assist in the war. Æolis then and Caria, part of the conquests ascribed to Crœsus, were acquired in the reign of his father. 5 The passage produced by Wesseling, “When Crœsus, *through the gift of his father*, was master of the government,” added to the preceding considerations, confirms that Crœsus was admitted to the government in the lifetime of Alyattes.

This arrangement lessens the difficulties in the travels and death of Solon. The legislation of Solon is fixed to Ol. 46

B.C. 594. He had already been consulted upon the Cirrhæan war, which began about B.C. 595. Solon therefore was already eminent in Ol. 46 B.C. 595 thirty-five years before the usurpation of Pisistratus. His travels and the time of his death are involved in great obscurity. Two motives of travel are ascribed to him. He withdrew from Athens to allow time for his laws to acquire stability, and to escape from the tyranny of Pisistratus. During his ten years' travel he visited Egypt Cyprus and Sardis. The testimony of Herodotus is express as to the motives of his travels, their duration, and the countries which he visited. With respect to Cræsus, Plutarch intimates a doubt; but the difficulty is obviated by the supposition that Solon visited Lydia about B.C. 570 in the lifetime of Alyattes, during a joint reign of Cræsus with his father. As Amasis began to reign in 569, the voyage to Egypt would be later than that epoch. We may assume as probable that Solon left Athens in 575, about twenty years after his archonship, and returned in 565, about five years before the usurpation of Pisistratus.

Solon upon his return to Athens found the state divided between Lycurgus Megacles and Pisistratus. On the usurpation of Pisistratus he withdrew from Athens by one account and died at Soli in Cilicia. By another account he remained at Athens and was treated with respect. The time of his death is not quite certain. He survived the usurpation of Pisistratus a considerable time according to Heraclides; but less than two years according to Phanias, who places his death in 559. The most probable account of his age assigns him 80 years.

#### § 18 KINGS OF PERSIA.

The reign of Cyrus at Babylon is the point at which the Scripture Chronology is taken up and continued by profane history. The fourth year of Jehoiakim, in which the captivity began, was in the seventieth year before the first of Cyrus at Babylon. At the termination then of the Captivity in the 1st year of Cyrus Scripture Chronology is measured with profane. By determining the position of this date we determine all the preceding epochs; the revolt of the ten tribes, the election of Saul, the division of the lands of Canaan; from whence we



ascend to the birth of Abraham and the patriarchal genealogies.

The adjustment of this period of 70 years to the reigns of the Babylonian kings is embarrassed with many difficulties, and has been made the subject of much dispute. These Babylonian reigns are thus delivered in the Astronomical Canon.

	Y.	N. E.	B. C.
1 <i>Nabocolassar</i> .....	43	... 144	... 604
2 <i>Ilvarodamus</i> .....	2	... 187	... 561
3 <i>Nericassolassar</i> .....	4	... 189	... 559
4 <i>Nabonadius</i> .....	17	... 193	... 555

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66

*Cyrus* ..... 9 ... 210 ... 538

An obvious difference presents itself between the numbers in the Canon and the amount of years expressed in Scripture. The 1st of Cyrus at Babylon is the 67th year from the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, a deficiency of three complete years in the term of the captivity. The reign of Nebuchadnezzar is 43 years in all the copies of the Canon, and that number is assigned to him by Berosus. Something more than that amount may be collected from Scripture, which antedates the years of this Babylonian king, computes to his reign the last year of his father, and places the 4th of Jehoiakim and the beginning of the captivity in the year of Nabonassar 143 or B. C. 605; for we collect from Scripture that the 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar was nearly completed at the captivity of Jehoiakim, and  $8 + 36$  will give the 44th year nearly completed. To this we must add some portion of the 37th of Jehoiakin, from 2 Kings xxv. 27, which will give to Nebuchadnezzar the full term of 44 years. The first year then of the 70 preceded the 43 years of this king, and the year of Nabonassar 144 B. C. 604 was conumerary with the second year of the captivity. There still remain two deficient years. Between Nebuchadnezzar and the 1st of Cyrus are required 25 years, and the Canon offers only 23. The best solution of this difficulty is supplied by Josephus, from whom we collect the following distribution, although in the second and third reigns the numbers are corrupted in his present text.

	y.	m.
1 <i>Nabuchodonosorus</i> .....	43	
2 <i>Abilmarodachus</i> [18] ...	2	
3 <i>Niglissarus</i> [40] .....	4	
4 <i>Labosoarchodus</i> .....	0	9
5 <i>Baltasarus</i> .....	17	
6 <i>Darius Medus</i> .....	(2)	
<i>Cyrus</i> .....	1	
	<hr/>	
	69	9

Josephus completed the interval by inserting the reign of Darius the Mede, who supplies the deficiency of two years in the Babylonian dynasty. The Astronomical Canon omitted the reign of Laborosoarchod, because it was less than a year, and took no account of the reign of Darius the Mede, because it was included in the 9 years of Cyrus. The capture of Babylon N. E. 210 B. C. 238 was followed by the reign of Darius the Mede, and the first year of Cyrus according to Scripture is the third according to the Canon. This scheme has been adopted by Vignoles Perizonius and Usher, and produces the following arrangement, which is superior to that Jackson and Hales.

Y.	N.E.	B. C.	JOSEPHUS, &c.	JACKSON and HALES.
45	187	561	1 Evil Merodach .....	1 Evil Merodach.
46	188	560	2 .....	2
47	189	559	1 Neriglissar .....	3
48	190	558	2 .....	1 BELSHAZZAR. (Neriglissar.) [ <i>Daniel's vision c. VII.</i> ]
49	191	557	3 .....	2
50	192	556	4 Laborosoarchod 9 m. ....	3 [ <i>Daniel's vision c. VIII.</i> ]
51	193	555	1 BELSHAZZAR. (Nabonadius.) [ <i>Daniel's vision c. VII.</i> ]	4
52	194	554	2 .....	5 Laborosoarchod 9 m.
53	195	553	3 [ <i>Daniel's vision c. VIII.</i> ] .....	1 Nabonadius. 1 DARIUS the MEDE. [ <i>Daniel's prayer c. IX.</i> ]
54	196	552	4 .....	2 ..... 2.
*	*	*	* .....	*
67	209	539	17 .....	15
68	210	538	1 Cyrus takes Babylon. 1 DARIUS the MEDE. [ <i>Daniel's prayer c. IX.</i> ] ..	16
69	211	537	2 .....	17
70	212	536	3 Edict of Cyrus. .... 1 CYRUS ..	1 Cyrus takes Babylon. Edict of Cyrus.
	213	535	4 .....	2
	214	534	5 [ <i>Daniel's vision c. X.</i> ] 3 .....	3 [ <i>Daniel's vision c. X.</i> ]

We conclude then that the term of 66 years from Nebuchadnezzar to the first of Cyrus is rightly numbered in the Canon; that the 70 years' captivity commenced B. C. 605, in the year before the sole reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and ter-

minated with the third year of Cyrus, according to the Canon ; that the capture of Babylon is rightly placed in 538 ; and that the edict for the return of the Jews, at the end of 536, was in the first year of Cyrus, computed from the death of Darius the Mede.

The first of the following tables exhibits the reigns of the Persian kings according to the technical principles of the Canon, which omits fractions of years ; the other represents the actual commencement of their reigns, as far as historical evidence remains to establish it.

om- nenced.	B.C.	N.E.	Y. B.C.	Y. M. B.C.
				1 Cyrus <i>in Persia</i> .. 30 ..... 559
				— <i>conquers Lydia</i> ..... 546
				— <i>Babylon</i> ..... 538
n. 5 .....	210	Cyrus (last 9)....	9 .. 538	2 Cambyses..... 7 .. 5 .. 529
n. 3 .....	219	Cambyses .....	8 .. 529	3 Smerdis..... 7 .. 522
n. 1 .....	227	Darius Hystaspis. 36 ..	521	4 Darius Hystaspis.. 36 ..... 521
c. 23 .....	486	263 Xerxes.....	21 .. 485	5 Xerxes..... 20 ..... 485
				6 Artabanus..... 7 } 465
c. 17 .....	465	284 Artaxerxes I....	41 .. 464	7 ArtaxerxesLongim.40.... } 465
				8 Xerxes II..... 2 } 425
				9 Sogdianus ..... 7 }
c. 7 .....	424	325 Darius II. ....	19 .. 423	10 Darius Nothus .. 19 ..... 424
c. 2 .....	405	344 Artaxerxes II. ..	46 .. 404	11 ArtaxerxesMnemon46 ..... 405
v. 21 .....	359	390 Ochus.....	21 .. 358	12 Ochus ..... (21).... 359
v. 16 .....	338	411 Arses .....	2 .. 337	13 Arses .....
v. 15 .....	336	413 Darius III. ....	4 .. 335	14 Darius Codoman .. 4 11 .. 336
v. 14 .....	332	417 Alexander (last 8)	8 .. 331	Alexander (last 8.) 7 8 .. 331 [Oct.1B.C.331]
v. 12 .....	324	425 Philippus Aridæus	7 .. 323	Philippus Aridæus.. 6 4 .. 323

4 Darius Hystaspis. The Naxian war began in 501 the 21st year of Darius. In the preceding 20 years of his reign the following events occurred. The siege of Babylon was undertaken at the same time as an expedition to Samos to restore Syloson ; and the Samian war was in the beginning of the reign of Darius. The siege of Babylon lasted 20 months. After the capture of that city Darius invaded the Scythians and remained more than 60 days beyond the Danube. On his return to Sestos, he left Megabazus general in Europe, who reduced Perinthus, Thrace, and Pæonia. Then ambassadors were sent to the king of Macedonia, and Megabazus returned to Sardis. The Scythian war and the conquests of Megabazus might occupy two campaigns. After this, Darius,



leaving Artaphernes governor of Sardis, returned to Susa, and Otanes, being appointed successor of Megabazus, reduced Byzantium, Chalcedon, Lemnos and Imbros. Then followed an interval of tranquillity before the affair of Naxos, which was first agitated in the 20th year of Darius in 502, the year before the siege. That interval is described by the historian as not very long.

5 Xerxes. The 21 years of his reign include the 7 months of Artabanus whom the Canon omits. As the accession of Xerxes is determined to the beginning of 485, his 20th year was completed in the beginning of 465, he survived his 20th year about 5 months, and his death would happen in the beginning of the archonship of Lysitheus. The 7 months of Artabanus, completing the 21 years, bring down the accession of Artaxerxes (after the removal of Artabanus) to the beginning of 464, in the year of Nabonassar 284, where it is placed in the Canon.

7 Artaxerxes Longimanus. Thucydides records his death in the winter of the archon Stratocles, when the event was reported at Ephesus. If the death of Artaxerxes was known at Ephesus in the winter of that archon B. C. 32 $\frac{5}{4}$ , he could barely survive the 1st day of N. E. 324 or Dec. 7 B. C. 425, although his reign is extended by the Canon to December of the following year. But that is explained by the practice of the Canon, which computed to his 41st year the months of Xerxes II and Sogdianus. The actual reign of Artaxerxes would be something less than 40 years.

10 Darius Nothus. Thucydides places the 13th year current of his reign in the winter of the archon Callias, about February B. C. 411. This testimony critically agrees with the Canon, which places the first day of Darius Nothus at Dec. 7 B. C. 424 precisely 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  2 $^m$  before the date of the treaty in Thucydides. But this would leave a year for the two preceding reigns. Consequently either the two reigns were something more than 9 months, or the accession of Darius preceded his 1st day in the Canon. Probably the compiler of the Canon reckoned these two reigns a year, and brought down the 31st of Artaxerxes, by which they were represented, to the beginning of N. E. 325. These considerations determine the actual accession of Darius Nothus to the 6th month

of the archon Isarchus, Dec. 424, commensurate with the Thoth or technical date of his accession in the Canon.

11 Artaxerxes Mnemon. As the 19 years of Darius commenced in the 6th month of Isarchus, they ended in the 6th month of Alexias. We collect from Xenophon these particulars. Lysander came to Ephesus in the latter part of 406. Not long after Cyrus sent for him, and went up to Media to his father, who was sick. This journey of Cyrus to the Upper Asia was undertaken in the beginning of 405. On his arrival the king was still living, but died soon after. We may perhaps refer his death to December of 405, December of the archon Alexias, the first month of N. E. 344, which is computed in the Canon as the first year of his successor.

12 Ochus. His accession in the Canon is subsequent to Nov. 21 B. C. 359. His recovery of Egypt is placed by Diodorus in the archonship of Apollodorus, the summer of 350. Demosthenes implies that the conquest of Egypt was not yet accomplished in the preceding year, the year of Thessalus B. C. 351. A letter of Philip to the Athenian people, written in the autumn of 340, attests that Egypt was recovered before 340. Nectanebus the last native king of Egypt had been established in the throne by Agesilaus in 361; consequently his reign, 361—350, was of eleven years, instead of 18 years, the amount assigned by Manetho.

14. Darius Codomannus. The accession of this prince is placed by the Canon in the first year of Alexander, and is made to be subsequent to the death of Philip. His actual reign, computed to the battle of Arbela Oct. 1 B. C. 331, would be 4y 11<sup>m</sup>, called 4 years in the Canon, because the reign of Alexander was dated from the *Thoth* preceding.

#### § 19 ATTIC MONTHS.

1 <i>Hecatombæon</i> (July)	7 <i>Gamelion</i> (Jan.)
2 <i>Metagitnion</i> (Aug.)	8 <i>Anthesterion</i> (Feb.)
3 <i>Boedromion</i> (Sept.)	9 <i>Elaphebolion</i> (March)
4 <i>Pyanepsion</i> (Oct.)	10 <i>Munychion</i> (April)
5 <i>Mæmacterion</i> (Nov.)	11 <i>Thargelion</i> (May)
6 <i>Posideon</i> (Dec.)	12 <i>Sciophorion</i> (June)

1 *Hecatombæon*, The *Cronia* were celebrated in this month, and the *Panathenæa magna* on the 28th of the month.

3 *Boedromion*. The *Mysteria magna* or *Eleusinia* began on the 15th and ended on the 23d, occupying nine days.

6 *Posideon*. In this month, as containing the shortest day of the year, the proportions of the *Clepsydra* were measured. A short day at the winter solstice was selected, that the three parts into which the *Clepsydra* was divided might be conveniently contained in any other day of the year in which judicial proceedings might happen to be carried on.

8 *Anthesterion*. The *Anthesteria*, which were celebrated on the 11th 12th and 13th days of this month, were according to Ruhnkenius the same festival as the *Lenæa*.

*Anthesteria* or *Lenæa* { 11 *Pithœgia*  
12 *Choes*  
13 *Chytiri*

Mr. Boeckh however places the *Lenæa* in Gamelion, and considers the *Lenæa* to have been a different festival from the *Anthesteria*<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> In a Supplement to Fast. Hellen. vol. 2 c. 19 p. 421—425 the testimonies are collected upon which Ruhnken and Boeckh have founded their several opinions, and the reasons are offered for still adhering to the interpretation of Ruhnkenius. Referring the reader to the larger work for the testimonies, I shortly repeat in this place the conclusions to which I was led upon this subject.

On the occasion of the *Lenæa*, Mr. Boeckh argues thus: "The name connects it with the vintage and separates it from the *Anthesteria*, because the name *Lenæa* was derived from the wine-press erected in the *Lenæon*. But in the *Anthesteria* on the 1st day the casks were broached, on the 2nd the new wine is drank.—Spalding and the partizans of Ruhnken's hypothesis felt the difficulty of assigning a vintage festival to February," &c. This reasoning will not much assist Mr. Boeckh's argument; for January is not more fitted for a vintage festival than February. And we must further observe that in the cycle of Meton during nine years out of nineteen the month *Gamelion* began sometimes after the middle and sometimes at the

end of January, and coincided for the most part with February in all those years of the cycle.

In those nine years the position of Gamelion was this:

In years	It began	It ended
3	Jan. 18	Feb. 15
5 . . . . .	25 . . . . .	22
6 . . . . .	14 . . . . .	12
8 . . . . .	21 . . . . .	19
11 . . . . .	19 . . . . .	16
13 . . . . .	26 . . . . .	23
14 . . . . .	15 . . . . .	12
16 . . . . .	22 . . . . .	20
19 . . . . .	19 . . . . .	17

Both Ruhnkenius and Boeckh sufficiently establish that the Rural *Dionysia* were not the *Lenæa*. Both clearly shew the place in which the *Lenæa* were celebrated. But the place is no argument in favour of Mr. Boeckh; for it is quite consistent with Ruhnken's opinion that the *Lenæa* were the *Anthesteria*, while it by no means proves the *Lenæa* to be in Gamelion. With respect to the month *Lenæon* Mr. Boeckh has shewn that this Ionian month corresponded to the Attic Gamelion. That in the Ionian cities *Lenæon* coincided with Gamelion is proved by a Marble



9 *Elaphebolion*. The *Dionysia magna* or *Dionysia urbana* were in this month, and were celebrated between the 8th and 18th of the month.

10 *Munychion*. This and the two following months are placed in their order by Aristotle, "In three months, *Munychion Thargelion Sciroporion*," which Pliny represents thus: *Tribus mensibus, Aprili Maio Junio*.

11 *Thargelion*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus attests that the 23rd of Thargelion was 17 days before the summer solstice, and computes 37 days from that day of Thargelion to the end of the Attic year. He evidently makes his computation according to the form in use in his own time, and the result of his numbers is that the first of Thargelion might fall

and by Aristides, who is very justly interpreted by Mr. Boeckh, who has shewn that *Lenæon* at Smyrna corresponded to *Gamelion* at Athens. The lines of Hesiod also justify the inference that he described a winter month, and this had been already shewn at large by Dodwell. But Mr. Boeckh admits it to be possible that the Lenæan festival might still after the rise of the drama at Athens have been transferred to a different month. The argument founded on Aristophanes is not quite refuted by Mr. Boeckh. His explanation of the allusion in *Ran.* 214 is much less easy and natural than that of Ruhnkenius. In the *Acharnenses* the mention of τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια in the beginning of the play is a dramatic fiction; but the references to the *Choes* in the latter part of the drama are so many and so much interwoven with the scene that the interpretation of Ruhnkenius appears to be just. That dramatic exhibitions were offered at the *Anthesteria* is plain from Lycurgus, and may be deduced from Philostratus. The assertion of Apollodorus, that the *Anthesteria* were ἑορτὴ Διονύσου Ἀθηναίου (which Mr. Boeckh is inclined without reason to reject as not belonging to Apollodorus), is to the same effect; the word Ἀθηναίου would not be added without a meaning. In Hesychius v. Ἀθηναίων the Lenæan festival is referred to the Boeotian month *Hermæus*; and Proclus as amended by Dodwell is consistent with Hesychius. But it is granted that *Hermæus* corresponded to *Anthesterion*, and this may explain why some commen-

tators (though improperly and contrary to Hesiod's meaning) compared Hesiod's *Lenæon* with the Boeotian *Hermæus*. If the Lenæan festival was celebrated in *Hermæus* or *Anthesterion*, they would infer that the month *Lenæon* was also the month *Hermæus*.

Of the three passages adduced from Alciphron Ælian and Athenæus, the last *Ἀθήναια καὶ Χύτρον θεῶρων* does not divide, but unite these festivals; the two former would be explained by the interpretation of Ruhnkenius, that the name *Lenæa* might be peculiarly applied to the first day, *Pithægia*; and this is in some degree confirmed by Thucydides, who names only one day for the *Anthesteria*, the 12th of the month, or the day of the *Choes*, whence we might conjecture that the 11th of that month was the *Lenæa* or *Pithægia*, that the 12th was especially named the *Anthesteria* or *Choes*, and the 13th the *Chytiri*.

The events which happened in the archonship of Callias confirm the opinion of Ruhnkenius that the *Lenæa* were in *Anthesterion*. For Euripides died in the sixth month of that archon, and his death preceded the death of Sophocles. And yet Sophocles was dead before the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes and the *Musæ* of Phrynichus were composed. But these comedies were produced at the *Lenæan* festival of the archon Callias. Now if this had been in the seventh month *Gamelion* the time was too short; whence it follows that the *Lenæa* were celebrated in the eighth month of Callias rather than the seventh.

40 days before the tropic, the 1st of Scirophorion 10 days before it, and the 1st of Hecatombæon on the 21st day after the tropic.

In *Thargelion* according to Proclus the *Panathenæa Minora* were celebrated. Proclus is confirmed by an incidental notice in Lysias, in placing this festival in Thargelion, and he is not contradicted by any positive testimony.

The Attic year after the time of Solon was lunar of 354 days. The 360 days contained in 12 months were reduced to lunar time by omitting 6 days from 6 of the months, and these lunar years were brought to solar time by an intercalary month *Posideon II*, inserted at the end of every two years.

The object was to adapt the months to the moon and the years to the course of the sun. The days of the civil month were to accompany the changes of the moon, and the deficiency in the lunar year was to be supplied by intercalation. But this object was not accomplished because the ancient astronomers had not accurately determined the true amount either of lunar or of solar time. Hence irregularities in the calendar. In *Boedromion* of 490 the full moon would fall upon the 5th day of the month, and there was a variation at that time of 10 days between the civil month and the lunar time. In 432 Meton commenced his cycle with the new moon nearest to the summer solstice. But this new moon fell upon the 13th day of Scirophorion. The irregularity which Meton undertook to rectify was as great as it could well be, if the new moon coincided with the 13th day of the civil month.

The *enneacædecaeteris* of Meton intercalated 7 months in 19 years. The years which received the intercalary months were these; 3. 5. 8. 11. 13. 16. 19. His 19 years accordingly contained 235 months of 30 days, or 7050 days. But, as 19 years in solar time contained 6940 days according to Meton's computation, there was an overplus of 110 days to be expunged from his cycle. These 110 days he deducted by a new method. In the old method of deducting a day from every alternate month, at the rate of six days in the year, too much was gained; for the overplus was not  $19 \times 6 = 114$  days, but only 110, or about  $5^d 19^h$  in the year nearly. His method therefore was, in his whole period of 235 months or 7050 days to

strike out every 63rd day. The exemptile days accordingly fell in the cycle of Meton as in the following table.

## YEARS OF THE CYCLE.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Hecatombæon		18		24		30		3		9	27	15		21					18
Metagitnion			6		12		18		24				3		9	27	15		
Boëdromion	3	21		27				6		12	30	18		24				3	21
Pyanepsion			9		15	3	21		27				6		12	30	18		
Mæmacterion	6	24		30				9		15		21		27				6	24
Posideon	{		12		18	6	24		30		3		9		15		21		
			B.		B.			B.12			B.		B.			B.3			B.27
Gamelion		9	27	15		21				18	6	24	12	30				9	
Anthesterion				3		9	27	15							18	6	24		30
Elaphebolion	12	30	18		24				3	21	9	27	15					12	
Munychion				6		12	30	18						3	21	9	27		
Thargelion	15		21		27				6	24	12	30	18					15	
Sciophorion		3		9		15		21						6	24	12	30		

It is manifest, on inspection of this table, that six particular months are improperly called (by Potter and others) *menses cavi*, and six other months *menses pleni*; because the exemptile days were taken from every month in turn, while the cycle of Meton continued in use. Thus, Metagitnion Anthesterion and Gamelion are improperly called *cavi*, or months of 29 days, since Metagitnion, for example, in the 1. 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 18. 19. years of the cycle was a *mensis plenus*, of 30 days. Hecatombæon again, Boëdromion Posideon Elaphebolion are improperly called *pleni*; for, in the years of the cycle 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 19. Hecatombæon was a *mensis cavus*.

Although the cycle of Meton was calculated to adjust the months to the moon and to the seasons upon the whole, yet in detail any particular month might not coincide with the course of the moon. Thus, in the very first year of the cycle, the third new moon of the year would commence  $59^d 1^h 28^m 5^s$  from the first of Hecatombæon: but the third month Boëdro-



mion commences on the 61st day; consequently the new moon would fall upon the 29th of Metagitnion. Again, the true duration of a lunar year being  $354^d 8^h 48^m 34^s$ , the first year of the cycle, being of 354 days, would fall short of the moon by almost nine hours. The eighth year of his cycle contains 383 days: but thirteen lunations are equal to  $383^d 21^h 32^m 37^s$  and he falls short of the true time twenty-one hours and a half. The 19th year contains 385 days, exceeding the true time by  $1^d 2^h 27^m 24^s$ . Again, the four last months of the cycle have 120 days; but four lunations are only  $118^d 2^h 56^m 11^s$ . Aristophanes in B. C. 422 ridicules the cycle of Meton, then newly established.

Meton made great improvements upon the calculations of his predecessors. But the difference between Meton's computation and the true time was still considerable. In his solar year there was an excess of 30 minutes. Hence his 19 years, amounting to 6940 days, exceeded the true solar time by about nine hours and a half. In four of his cycles, or 76 years, there was an excess of almost 38 hours; and in five cycles, or 95 years, an excess of nearly two days. Nor did his months correspond with the lunations. Five of his cycles contained 1175 months: these contained (after deducting the exemptile days) 34,700 days. But 1175 lunations are only equal to  $34698^d 10^h 36^m 27^s$ . So that the difference was this.

		Metonic time.	True time.				Excess.			
		D.	D.	H.	M.	S.	D.	H.	M.	S.
1 cycle {	235 months	6940	6939.	16.	31.	17	7.	28.	42	
	19 solar years	6940	6939.	14.	30.	3	9.	29.	57	
4 cycles {	940 months	27760	27758.	18.	5.	10	1.	5.	54.	49
	76 solar years	27760	27758.	10.	0.	12	1.	13.	59.	48
5 cycles {	1175 months	34700	34698.	10.	36.	27	1.	13.	23.	32
	95 solar years	34700	34698.	0.	30.	15	1.	23.	29.	45

The excess of Meton's calculation was in part corrected by Calippus; whose reformed cycle of 76 years, containing four Metonic periods, commenced in the archonship of Aristophon July 330. He estimated the excess to be one day in 76 years, or two days in 152 years. Calippus had made a nearer approach to the true solar time than Meton. But, as in the solar year of Calippus there was still an excess of  $11^m 3^s$ , which amounted in four Metonic periods to  $13^h 59^m 48^s$  and in eight

to  $1^d\ 3^h\ 59^m\ 36^s$ , he concluded the error of Meton to be less than it really was; computing it at one day in 76 years, and two days in 152, whereas it was in reality 38 hours in the one case, and more than three days in the other.

The purpose of Calippus was to deduct in 76 years one day more than Meton had done. In four Metonic cycles  $110 \times 4 = 440$  days were deducted from the 940 months. Calippus proposes to deduct 441 days. Beyond this, he appears to have made no change in the *enneacædecaeteris* of Meton. He not only made no change in the order of the intercalary years, but it is highly probable (as Corsini has argued) that he made none in the order of exemptile days.

It has been a question whether Hecatombæon always began at the first new moon after the solstice, or whether it sometimes preceded the solstice. Scaliger held that Hecatombæon never commenced before the solstice. Petavius thought otherwise. Dodwell concluded that the new moon of Hecatombæon was that which lay nearest to the tropic, whether it preceded, or whether it followed the solstice. Corsini collects the different opinions, but declares no judgment of his own, and is satisfied with stating generally that the year began *circa æstivi solstitii tempora*. There are no positive proofs of this point, but the probability is that Petavius and Dodwell are in the right.

The first day of every Attic month, on the principles of the lunar year, falls annually back about eleven days until the arrival of the intercalary year; when it is carried forward by the intercalary month about 18 days lower in the Julian Calendar than the place which it occupied in the preceding year. In the next year it falls back again eleven days, and so successively, till another operation of the intercalary month brings it down 18 days in advance of its former position. As for example, if in the first year of the Metonic cycle, Elaphebolion, the month of the *Dionysia Magna*, began March 10, in the second it fell back to Feb. 27th, in the third year it would be carried forward by the intercalary month to March 17th, in the fourth it fell back to March 6th, in the fifth it was carried down by the second intercalary month to March 25th. The intercalary years within the period of Meton's cycle were these.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Years.</i>	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
3	$4\frac{3}{2}\frac{0}{9}$	$41\frac{1}{10}$	$39\frac{3}{4}$	$37\frac{3}{2}$	$35\frac{4}{3}$	$33\frac{4}{5}$
5	$42\frac{8}{7}$	$40\frac{9}{8}$	$3\frac{9}{8}\frac{0}{9}$	$37\frac{1}{10}$	$35\frac{2}{7}$	$33\frac{3}{2}$
8	$42\frac{5}{4}$	$40\frac{6}{5}$	$38\frac{7}{6}$	$36\frac{8}{7}$	$34\frac{9}{8}$	$(3\frac{3}{2}\frac{0}{9})$
11	$42\frac{2}{1}$	$40\frac{3}{2}$	$38\frac{4}{3}$	$36\frac{5}{4}$	$34\frac{6}{5}$	
13	$4\frac{2}{1}\frac{0}{9}$	$40\frac{1}{10}$	$38\frac{9}{1}$	$36\frac{3}{2}$	$34\frac{4}{3}$	
16	$41\frac{7}{6}$	$39\frac{8}{7}$	$37\frac{9}{8}$	$3\frac{6}{5}\frac{0}{9}$	$34\frac{1}{10}$	
19	$41\frac{4}{3}$	$39\frac{5}{4}$	$37\frac{6}{5}$	$35\frac{7}{6}$	$33\frac{8}{7}$	

In these years the 12 months which followed *Posideon II* (the six last months of the intercalary year and the six first of the next year) were brought down, as compared with their station in the Julian Calendar of the preceding year, each about 18 days lower respectively; and in these months the Athenian festivals and the occurrences of civil history would fall so much later than in the other years of the period. In these intercalary years, of 13 months, the *prytaniæ* into which the year was distributed, instead of 35 and 36 days, were of 38 and 39 days' duration.

The Athenians divided their civil year into ten *prytaniæ*, corresponding to the number of their tribes, each of 35 days. The order in which the tribes presided was annually determined by lot. But as there were four supernumerary days to be distributed among the 10 tribes, these were assigned to the last four tribes; so that the first eight had 35 days each, and 36 days each were assigned to the last four tribes. The Choiseul Marble, which preserves an account of the sums issued from the treasury of Minerva Polias in the archonship of Glaucippus B. C.  $4\frac{1}{10}\frac{0}{9}$ , exhibits a perfect series of the *prytaniæ* in the order which they occupied in that year. In the year of Glaucippus, which was not intercalary, but a year of 354 days, the 4th of a Metonic cycle, the order was this.

<i>Days</i>		<i>Days</i>	<i>Commenced</i>
..... 1	Æantis	..... 35 .. 1	Hecatombæon .. July 14 B. C. 410
70 .. 2	Ægeis	..... 35 .. 7	Metagitnion ... Aug. 18
105 .. 3	Æneis	..... 35 .. 12	Boëdromion .. Sept. 22
140 .. 4	Acamantis	.... 35 .. 18	Pyanepsion .. Octob. 27
175 .. 5	Cecropis	..... 35 .. 23	Mæmacterion .. Dec. 1
210 .. 6	Leontis	..... 35 .. 29	Posideon .... Jan. 5 B. C. 409
246 .. 7	Antiochis	.... 36 .. 5	Anthesterion .. Feb. 9
282 .. 8	Hippochoontis	.. 36 .. 11	Elaphebolion .. March 17
318 .. 9	Erechtheis	.... 36 .. 18	Munychion .. April 22
354 .. 10	Pandionis	.... 36 .. 24	Thargelion .. May 28—July 2



In the year of the next archon Diocles B. C. 40 $\frac{2}{3}$ , according to the evidence of another Marble, the tribe *Cecropis* presided first.

§ 20 DEMOSTHENES has stated his age in two passages of his works. 1 He affirms that his father left him an orphan of seven years old; and that 10 years of guardianship had expired in the last month of the archon Polyzelus. But in the statement of 10 entire years of guardianship it was evidently the orator's interest and purpose to make the most of the amount of time, because the length of time during which the guardians had enjoyed his property was an aggravation of the wrong he had sustained. Hence in another passage he urges "This property had been managed for so long a period of time." The whole term of the guardianship was 10 years, and no more; and at the time of the marriage of the sister of Onetor to Aphobus the guardian Demosthenes was yet a minor. The full term of his minority was yet unexpired. His *docimasia* was subsequent to the marriage, in the year of another archon; from which it is manifest that the space expressed by *ten whole years* ending at the last month of Polyzelus was less than 10 years complete. If the orator calls the whole term of guardianship 10 years and no more, it is evident that a term less than the whole (because included within it) was less than 10 years complete. And if in another place he calls that lesser term *an entire ten years*, it is no less evident that in so describing that shorter period he uses an exaggerated expression. In these detached numbers of Demosthenes we are not to take the sum of the two, or to suppose 17 years complete. The expressions of the orator only prove that 16 years were completed at the time of his kinsman's marriage in the last month of Polyzelus. The 10 years terminated at the *docimasia*. If this *docimasia* is brought to the 6th or 7th month of Cephisodorus, it will bring the death of the father to the 6th or 7th month of Charisander; if on the contrary we place the father's death at the second month of Charisander, this will fix the *docimasia* of the son at the second month of Cephisodorus. We may assume that the orator was born in the first month of Evander, July 382, and that his father died about the 3rd or 4th month of Chari-

sander, Sept. or Oct. 376, when the 7th year of Demosthenes was current. From that date to the marriage of the guardian would be strictly 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  9 $\frac{1}{2}$ , which the orator, to favour his claim, might well call *ten whole years*.

This date for the birth of Demosthenes, obtained from Demosthenes himself, is in conformity with Gellius and Libanius, who place his birth at 382, and about a year higher than the date of Dionysius, B. C. 381, but is wholly irreconcilable with the year of Dexitheus, which is the date of the Pseudo-Plutarch, because Polyzelus is the 19th archon, both inclusive, from Dexitheus, and Demosthenes, if he had been born in the year of that archon, must have been 19 years of age in the last month of Polyzelus. Corsini, indeed, defends the date of the biographer by an extraordinary mode of computing: *Demosthenis ortus ad exeuntem Scirophorionem Ol. 98. 2* [June B. C. 384] *referri debet; ut nimirum Scirophorione mense Ol. 103. 2* [June B. C. 366] *octavum decimum ætatis annum absolveret. Quod si Demosthenes ipse testatur se vivente patre septennium decennium vero defuncto patre sub tutoribus egisse, observari facile poterit tum septem tum decem etiam annos illos ita completos vel integros esse potuisse, ut ex utrisque una conjunctis integra octodecim annorum summa conficeretur.* By what powers of computation this is to be accomplished it is difficult to imagine.

Bishop Thirlwall contends “that the difficulty seems to lie “only in the words of Corsini and not in their meaning.”——“What Corsini meant was that the two numbers were “round numbers, and each of them some months short of “the real time, and that the sum of these fractions might have “amounted to a whole year.—Neither does this supposition “appear to be at all absurd or extravagant.—If the reasoning of Corsini is weak, his error certainly does not consist “in miscalculation.” But, as in current numbers it was usual with the Greeks to reckon both extremes, so in using round numbers it was also most usual to name current years and to speak inclusively. If, then, according to an assumption of Dr. Thirlwall Demosthenes had been  $7\frac{1}{2}$  or  $7\frac{3}{4}$  years old at his father’s death, he would have called this in round numbers *eight* years and not *seven*; and the round numbers  $7 + 10$  might mean less than 17 years, but could not according to usage express 18 years complete. We affirm that, when

the orator calls a period in one place ἐπτ' ἔτων, and divides it on another occasion into ἐνιαύσιος and ἐξ ἔτη (which latter portion he terms ἔκτον ἔτος in the same sentence), he cannot mean *seven years and a half*; and that he cannot mean *ten years and a half* when he calls another period ἔτει δεκάτῳ in one passage and δέκα ἔτη in all the others.

The chronology then of Gellius, supported by Libanius, placing the birth of Demosthenes in the beginning of the year of Evander, would make him 16 in the last month of Polyzelus. He was admitted to his estate in his 17th year in the archonship of Cephisodorus, and was in his 19th in the beginning of the year of Timocrates, when he prosecuted his guardians. All these positions are consistent with the account which he has given of himself.

Bishop Thirlwall supplies a mark of time first noticed by Boeckh. "Demosthenes mentions that his father was no  
" sooner dead than Aphobus proceeded to take possession  
" of the house, and to raise the portion he was to have with  
" the widow. This he did when on the point of sailing as a  
" trierarch to Coreyra:" οὗτος γὰρ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς  
θάνατον ᾧκει τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσελθὼν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου διαθήκην, καὶ  
λαμβάνει τὰ τε χρυσία κ. τ. λ.—καὶ ἐπειδὴ εἶχεν, ἐκπλεῖν μέλ-  
λων εἰς Κορκύραν τριήραρχος ἀπέγραψε ταῦτα πρὸς Θηριππίδην  
ἔχοντα ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὁμολόγει κεκομίσθαι τὴν προῖκα. "Two ex-  
" peditions fall in the childhood of Demosthenes: the first  
" when Timotheus reduced Coreyra, placed by Diodorus in Ol.  
" 101. 1; the second under Iphicrates in the archonship of  
" Socratides; and this is consistent with the account which  
" fixes the birth of Demosthenes in Ol. 99. 4. The first ex-  
" pedition will not conform to the chronology of Boeckh, if it  
" be placed (as Dodwell assigns it) in the spring of Ol. 101. 1.  
" If however we suppose that the event belonged to the latter  
" end of Ol. 100. 4. and that the father of Demosthenes died  
" in the winter or spring of Ol. 100. 4, we may still retain the  
" archonship of Dexitheus as the date of the orator's birth."  
—"But the battle of Naxos stands in the way of this cal-  
" culation. Mr. Boeckh has seen the necessity of placing this  
" event also a year earlier than the date of Dodwell, for it  
" happened in the autumn preceding the expedition to Cor-  
" cyra. But he has not explained how his own date, Ol. 100.



“ 4, is to be reconciled with Xenophon’s narrative, which, as Mr. Clinton observes, clearly implies that the battle was fought in the autumn following the spring in which Cleombrotus failed in his attempt upon Bœotia. The allusion to Corcyra therefore still requires some further explanation to reconcile it with Boeckh’s opinion; and, if referred to the first expedition, must at present be considered as a confirmation of Mr. Clinton’s.”

Let us shortly examine the particulars. The expedition under Iphicrates was in April B. C. 373, the 10th month of the archon Socratides; from whence to the 12th month of Polyzelus are only a little more than 7 years instead of a little less than 10. This expedition then is out of the question. It was therefore the former expedition. Now the battle of Naxos was in September B. C. 376, the third month of the archon Charisander. The expedition of Corcyra was in the spring following, about February B. C. 375; and in the spring of the archon Charisander (about the 8th month of that archon) Aphobus prepared to sail. But from this point to the 12th month of Polyzelus are less than *nine years and a half*; confirming the positions laid down above, that the father died in the year of Charisander, and that less than 10 years had elapsed from his death to the marriage in the last month of Polyzelus.

2 Demosthenes describes himself as 32 years of age at the time of his dispute with Midias. This description of his age was applied by the orator to the time of his *choregia*, and not to the subsequent period at which the oration was published. But it is demonstrated upon the combined evidence of Dionysius and Demosthenes himself that the *choregia* of Demosthenes and the offence of Midias in reality occurred at the *Dionysia* of the archon Thessalus Ol. 107. 2 in February or March 350, and that at this date Demosthenes describes himself as 32; a description entirely agreeing with his own account of his own age 16 years before, and with the date which has been obtained from Gellius and Libanius.

We probably possess nearly all the orations of Demosthenes. Dionysius specifies 15 harangues to the people, and these are extant. The seven orations upon Public Causes, which are all that Dionysius thinks worthy of recording, are

also extant. Two others, those against Aristogiton, are not mentioned by the critic in his chronological review, and were considered by him as not genuine.

Dionysius seems to reckon six or seven-and-twenty, or at least less than thirty, orations upon private causes. There are 31 orations on private causes in the extant works of Demosthenes. Five of these are the *ἐπιτροπικοὶ λόγοι*, which Dionysius would not compute, as belonging to a peculiar class. Out of the remaining 26, the oration *against Evergus and Mnesibulus* is doubted by Harpocratio; that *against Phænippus* was questioned, according to the author of the argument; a third, *against Lacritus*, was also doubted, though, as the writer of the argument thinks, unjustly; and a fourth, *against Nicostratus*, is questioned by Harpocratio. The authorities for the admission of these four pieces are more weighty than the authorities for their rejection; and, if Dionysius received some, or all, of these into his list, our extant copies would contain nearly all that he acknowledged.

Out of the collection now extant, 31 in number, five were delivered by Demosthenes himself in the suit against his guardians, and eight were composed in causes in which Apollodorus the son of Pasio was concerned. Pasio the banker, with whom the father of Demosthenes had dealings, and whom Isocrates attacked in the oration called *Trapeziticus*, died in the archonship of Dyscinetus B. C. 370, when his son Apollodorus was 24 years of age. The mother of Apollodorus died in the year of Nicophemus, about B. C. 360. After her death, Apollodorus sued Phormio his father's freedman, who had married the widow and had become guardian to the younger son Pasicles. Demosthenes composed the oration *pro Phormione* which the friends of Phormio used in his defence. That defence was successful, and Apollodorus lost his action. The date of this cause was B. C. 350, 20 years after the death of Pasio. The witnesses by whom Phormio was supported in that cause were attacked by Apollodorus, and Demosthenes composed for Apollodorus the two orations *against Stephanus*. To this cause Æschines alludes in 343: by whom Demosthenes is charged with having betrayed Phormio to his adversary.

Apollodorus sued Timotheus son of Conon for a debt due to his father Pasio. The debt had been contracted in B. C.

374, 373. Demosthenes on this occasion composed the oration *against Timotheus* before B. C. 354, when Timotheus died; and consequently some years before the cause *pro Phormione*. In this oration Phormio is produced as a witness for Apollodorus. The son of Pasio was engaged in a suit with Callippus respecting a debt claimed by Callippus from Pasio, and Demosthenes composed for him the oration *against Callippus*. At this period Phormio and Apollodorus were still friends; the cause may therefore be placed with that against Timotheus among the early pieces of the orator. Apollodorus is the claimant, and the vindicator of his own public services, in the orations *against Polyces* and *for the naval crown*, which were subsequent at least to B. C. 361. He is the prosecutor in the cause *against Nicostratus*, one of the private causes to which a doubt has been affixed by Harpocratio, but which is quoted as genuine by the same grammarian in four other places, and referred to by Plutarch.

The son of Pasio is the pleader in the cause *against Neæra*. This cause was some years later than the first war with Philip B. C. 352—347, which is described in the oration: and it may be collected that Apollodorus was somewhat advanced in years. We may perhaps refer it to 340, when Apollodorus would be 54 years of age. Demosthenes appears as a witness in this oration, which, although quoted without suspicion by Hermogenes, is doubted by Dionysius, Athenæus, Harpocratio, and Photius.

The orations extant under the name of Demosthenes distributed into their three classes are exhibited in the following Table. Those, of which the year is expressed, will be found in the Tables of the second volume of the *Fasti Hellenici* under that year.



CONCIONES	PUBLICÆ CAUSÆ	PRIVATÆ CAUSÆ
C.	B. C.	B. C.
		364 In Aphob. I. ———— II. Contra Aphob. ψευδομαρτυριῶν. In Onetor. I. ———— II. In Callippum. post 361 In Polyclem περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτριηρ. De Corona navali. ante 354 In Timotheum ὑπὲρ χρέους.
4 De Classibus.		
3 Pro Megalopol.		
2 Philippica I. πρώτη τῶν Φ.		
1 Pro Rhodiis.		
	355 { In Androtionem. In Leptinem.	
	353 In Timocratem.	post 356 In Euerg. et Mnesibul.
	352 In Aristocratem.	post 355 In Zenothemim.
		350... { In Bœotum. Pro Phormione.
9 { Olynthiaca I. δευτέρα τῶν Φ. ———— II. ———— III.	348 In Midiam.	ante 343 { In Stephanum ψευδομαρτ. α'. ———— β'.
7 (ἂ μὲν ἡμεῖς"—πέμπτη τῶν Φ.)	.....	347 In Bœotum de Dote.
6 De Pace. ἕκτη τῶν Φ.		post 347 In Pantænet. conf. a. 347.
		post 346 In Eubulid. conf. a. 346.
4 Philipp. II. ἐβδόμη τῶν Φ.	343 De Falsa Legat.	circiter 343 In Cononem.
3 De Halonneso. ὀγδόη τῶν Φ.		post 343 In Olympiodor. conf. a. 342.
1 { De Chersoneso. ἐνάτη τῶν Φ. Philipp. III. ———— IV. ἐνδεκάτη τῶν Φ.		
9 In Epistolam. τελευταία τῶν Φ.	circ. 340 [In Neæram.]	
8 [Ἐπιτάφιος.]	post 336 [In Theocri- nem.] conf. a. 333	
post 334 [περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλεξ. συνθηκ.]	post 338 [In Aristogit. I. II.] conf. a. 331	post 336 In Phormionis παραγρ. conf. a. 332.
	330 De Corona.	post 331 In Dionysiodor. conf. a. 329.
[περὶ συντάξεως.]		Of uncertain date In Apaturium παραγραφικός. In Lacriti παραγραφὴν. In Nausim. et Xenopith. παραγρ. In Spudiam ὑπὲρ προικός. In Phænippum περὶ ἀντιδόσεως. In Macartat. conf. a. 360. In Leocharem περὶ κλήρου. In Nicostratum περὶ ἀνδραπόδων. In Calliclem περὶ χωρίου.

In the date of the celebrated cause *de Corona* are some difficulties which have been examined in the larger work. It is sufficient here to state briefly the conclusions at which we arrived. The action was instituted by Æschines towards the end of the year of Chærondas, March 337. The cause was pleaded in the beginning of the year of Aristophon, about August 330, less than eight years after the institution of the suit. The state of parties at Athens in the year of Chærondas was this. Demosthenes retained his influence after the battle of Chæronea. It was the object of the party of which he was the chief to obtain from the people an expression of their favourable opinion. With this view Ctesiphon, one of that party, proposed the decree for crowning Demosthenes; which was in effect a declaration that the people of Athens had not withdrawn their confidence from those who promoted the late war, although that war had been unsuccessful. The order of the proceedings was this. Two months after the battle, Ctesiphon proposed to reward Demosthenes by a decree passed in the fourth month of the year, Pyanepsion; Æschines put in his suit in the ninth month, Elaphebolion, and in his subsequent speech proved that Demosthenes was still in office as curator of the walls in the 11th month, Thargelion.

Corsini places all the transactions *before* the archonship of Chærondas; he refers the appointment of Demosthenes to the 3rd of Pyanepsion Ol. 110. 1 B. C. 340, the decree of the crown to the 22nd of Pyanepsion Ol. 110. 2 B. C. 339, ten months before the battle of Chæronea, and the suit of Æschines to the 6th of Elaphebolion Ol. 110. 2 B. C. 338, five months before it. Some modern critics passing to the opposite extreme place the decree of Ctesiphon in the year *after* the archonship of Chærondas, and 14 months after the battle of Chæronea<sup>a</sup>. Their arguments for this arrangement do not seem of sufficient weight to induce us to reject the testimonies by which the decree of Ctesiphon and the suit of Æschines are fixed to the year of the archon Chærondas. They argue that the transactions between the battle and the decree require a longer space than two months; and that the decree for the crown would not be passed while Philip was still in

<sup>a</sup> Conf. Dindorf. Annot. in Demosthenem tom. I p. 337—341.

Greece. But the only accounts of the transactions after the battle are contained in the general and rapid sketches of the two orators, in the author of the argument to the Oration of Demosthenes, and in the Pseudo-Plutarch. And these are not so accurate and precise as to determine the dates of each transaction. Nor is there any proof that the oration over those who fell at Chæronea was delayed till the winter. All the intermediate events might have occurred in the space of 73 days between the battle and the decree. The presence of Philip in Greece seems no obstacle to the proposal of a crown to Demosthenes at Athens. They found an argument upon this passage of Æschines<sup>b</sup>: "Demosthenes has objected to me that I instituted this suit for the purpose of courting the favour of *Alexander*. But the suit was commenced by me while Philip was yet alive, and before Alexander reigned." They contend that this had sense and meaning, if the suit was begun in Elaphebolion of 336, five months before Alexander's accession; for that Æschines might propose to gratify Alexander by the suit, if it had been begun "after his accession, or *a little before it*;" but that the imputation would have been absurd, if Ctesiphon had been prosecuted 17 months before the death of Philip. The death of Philip however at the age of 47 by the hand of an assassin was an event so totally unexpected, that the charge of Demosthenes imputing to his adversary a design of gratifying the successor would not be more credible if the action had been commenced five months before that event, than if the suit had occurred 17 months before it; and no reason is here given for transferring the suit from the year of Chæronidas (where it is placed by the testimonies) to the year of the next archon.

§ 21 The literary names which belong to the period from Pisistratus to Philadelphus are those of the poets, the philosophers, the historians, the orators who flourished within those limits. These are distributed into their classes, arranged in the order of time, and are marked by the years at which they are described in the Tables of this Second Period.

Among the tragic poets who flourished from the beginning

<sup>b</sup> Æschines in Ctes. p. 612 Reiske = p. 85. 12.



of the tragic art down to the time of Aristotle are the following :

- 1 Thespis B. C. 535
- 2 Chœrilus 523. 499. 483
- 3 Phrynichus 511. 483. 476
- 4 Æschylus 525. 499. 484. 472. 458. 456
- 5 Pratinas 499
- 6 Sophocles 495. 468. 447. 440. 431. 409. 405. (401)
- 7 Aristarchus 454
- 8 Ion Chius 451. 428. 421
- 9 Achæus 484. 447
- 10 Neophron, before Euripides
- 11 Euphorion 431
- 12 Cleomachus, an unworthy rival of Sophocles
- 13 Euripides 480. 455. 447. 441. 438. 431. 428. 415. 408. 406
- 14 Aristetas son of Pratinas
- 15 Chæremon
- 16 Theognis, before the *Acharnenses* of Aristophanes
- 17 Nicomachus contended successfully with Euripides
- 18 Philocles, named in the *Vespæ* of Aristophanes
- 19 Agathon 416
- 20 Antiphon ; in the time of the elder Dionysius
- 21 Carcinus, noticed in the *Vespæ*
- 22 Nothippus ridiculed by Hermippus
- 23 Acestor ridiculed in the *Vespæ*
- 24 Pythangelus noticed in the *Ranæ*
- 25 Xenocles 415. Son of Carcinus
- 26 Sthenelus ridiculed in the *Vespæ*
- 27 Morsimus son of Philocles
- 28 Melanthius ridiculed in the *Pax*
- 29 Morychus noticed in the *Acharnenses*
- 30 Iophon 428. 405
- 31 Cleophon
- 32 Astydamas 398
- 33 Meletus 399
- 34 Aphareus 368. 341
- 35 Diogenes, in the time of the Thirty
- 36 Euripides junior, nephew of the former Euripides
- 37 Dionysius tyrannus

- 38 Astydamas junior 372 } sons of Astydamas N<sup>o</sup> 32  
 39 Philocles junior }  
 40 Sophocles junior 401. 396: grandson of Sophocles  
 41 Dicæogenes  
 42 Theodectes 352. 333.

From the earliest comedies of Epicharmus to the latest exhibitions of Posidippus was a period of about 250 years. About one-half of this space belonged to the *old comedy*, while the *middle* and the *new* occupied the other half. These were among the poets of the *old comedy*:

- 1 Epicharmus B. C. 500. 485. 477
- 2 Phormis contemporary with Epicharmus
- 3 Dinolochus 487
- 4 Euetes }  
 5 Euxenides } 485  
 6 Mylus }
- 7 Chionides 487
- 8 Magnes, after Epicharmus and before Cratinus
- 9 Cratinus 519. 454. 448 436. 424. 423. 422
- 10 Crates 450
- 11 Ephantides
- 12 Pisander, before Plato the comic poet
- 13 Epilycus brother of Crates
- 14 Callias 432. 394
- 15 Hermippus 432. 430. 426
- 16 Myrtilus brother of Hermippus
- 17 Lysimachus
- 18 Hegemon 413
- 19 Sophron, contemporary with Euripides
- 20 Phrynichus 435. 429. 414. 405
- 21 Lycis, before the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes
- 22 Leucon 422
- 23 Lysippus 434
- 24 Eupolis 429. 425. 421. 420
- 25 Aristophanes 427—421. 414. 411. 405. 392. 388
- 26 Aristomenes 431. 424. 388
- 27 Ameipsias 423. 414
- 28 Teleclides, contemporary with Aristophanes
- 29 Pherecrates 420

- 30 Plato 428. 405. 391
- 31 Diocles, contemporary with Sannyrio and Philyllius
- 32 Sannyrio 407
- 33 Philyllius 394
- 34 Hipparchus
- 35 Archippus 415
- 36 Polyzelus
- 37 Philonides, the father of Nicochares
- 38 Xenophon
- 39 Arcesilaus
- 40 Autocrates
- 41 Eunicus, in the time of Philyllius and Aristophanes
- 42 Apollophanes, contemporary with Strattis
- 43 Nicomachus, contemporary with Pherecrates
- 44 Cephisodorus 402
- 45 Metagenes, in the time of Pherecrates and Aristophanes
- 46 Nicophon 388
- 47 Cantharus, contemporary with Plato the comic poet
- 48 Nicochares 388. the son of Philonides N<sup>o</sup> 37
- 49 Strattis 407. 394
- 50 Alcæus 388
- 51 Xenarchus 393. the mimographus, son of Sophron
- 52 Theopompus flourished cir. B. C. 400—370.

These were of the *middle comedy* :

- 1 Eubulus 375
- 2 Araros 388. 375
- 3 Anaxandrides 376. 347
- 4 Antiphanes 404. 383. 343. 331
- 5 Calliades, in the time of the orator Aristophon
- 6 Nicostratus, contemporary with Philetærus
- 7 Philippus son of Aristophanes
- 8 Anaxilas 343
- 9 Ophelion, contemporary with the philosopher Plato
- 10 Callicrates, contemporary with Sinope
- 11 Heraclides 348
- 12 Alexis 356. 316. 312. 306
- 13 Amphis 336, contemporary with Plato the philosopher
- 14 Axionicus, in the time of Philoxenus and Corydus
- 15 Cratinus junior, in the time of the philosopher Plato



- 16 Eriphus, the plagiarist of Antiphanes
- 17 Epicrates transcribed from Antiphanes
- 18 Stephanus 332, son of Antiphanes
- 19 Strato, in the time of Philetas of Cos
- 20 Aristophon, in the time of Philippides and Hyperides
- 21 Euphron, in the time of Callimedon Carabus
- 22 Sotades
- 23 Augeas
- 24 Ephippus, mentions Menecrates the physician
- 25 Heniochus
- 26 Epigenes 340
- 27 Mnesimachus
- 28 Timotheus
- 29 Sophilus
- 30 Antidotus, contemporary with Alexis
- (31 Nausicrates or Naucrates)
- 32 Xenarchus, contemporary with Timocles
- 33 Dromo, in the time of Tithymallus
- 34 Diodorus Sinopensis 353
- 35 Simylus 353, exhibited in the year of Diotimus.

These were of the *new comedy* :

- 1 Philippides 335. 301
- 2 Philemon 330
- 3 Menander 342. 321. 291
- 4 Apollodorus Gelous, contemporary with Menander
- 5 Diphilus 320
- 6 Dionysius Sinopensis, mentions Arcestratus
- 7 Timocles 324
- 8 Theophilus, contemporary with Callimedon
- 9 Sosippus, contemporary with Diphilus
- 10 Anaxippus 303
- 11 Demetrius 299
- 12 Archedicus 302
- 13 Sopater 283, first exhibited in the reign of Alexander
- 14 Damoxenus mentions Epicurus
- 15 Hegesippus or Crobylus, after Epicurus
- 16 Philemon junior, son of Philemon
- 17 Plato junior, after Epicurus
- 18 Theognetus, in the time of the Stoics

- 19 Bathon, contemporary with Cleanthes and Arcesilaus  
 20 Posidippus 289.

Poets, *not* dramatic, inserted in the Tables of this Second Period :

- 1 Stesichorus at B. C. 553
- 2 Ibycus 560. 539
- 3 Anacreon 559. 531. 525
- 4 Hipponax 546. 539
- 5 Theognis 544
- 6 Phocylides 544
- 7 Simonides Ceus 556. 525. 476. 467
- 8 Melanippides 520
- 9 Telesilla 510
- 10 Lasus 504
- 11 Pindarus 518—439
- 12 Timocreon Rhodius B. C. 471
- 13 Bacchylides 450. 431
- 14 Choerilus Samius 479
- 15 Melanippides junior 520
- 16 Panyasis 489. 457
- 17 Antimachus 405
- 18 Telestes 401. 398
- 19 Philoxenus 398. 380
- 20 Timotheus 398. 357
- 21 Polyidus 398
- 22 Erinna 352. To these may be added *Sappho*, of whom an account is given at B. C. 559.

Philosophers :

- 1 Thales B. C. 560. 546
- 2 Chilon 556
- 3 Bias 544
- 4 Anaximander 547
- 5 Anaximenes 548. 480
- 6 Pherecydes 544
- 7 Xenophanes 538. 527. 477
- 8 Pythagoras 539. 533. 531. 520. 510. 499. 472
- 9 Alemaeon, the disciple of Pythagoras
- 10 Heraclitus 503. 502. 455

- 11 Parmenides 502. 455
- 12 Diogenes Apolloniates 468
- 13 Anaxagoras 500. 480. 450. 432. 428
- 14 Diagoras Melius 466
- 15 Zeno Eleates 464. 455. 435
- 16 Archelaus 450
- 17 Melissus 444. 440
- 18 Protagoras 444. 422
- 19 Empedocles 455. 444. 435
- 20 Socrates 468. 450. 399
- 21 Leucippus, the disciple of Zeno Eleates
- 22 Democritus 460. 435. 405. 370. 357
- 23 Hippocrates 460. 435. 431. 357
- 24 Prodicus 435
- 25 Meton 432
- 26 Plato 429. 416. 409. 399. 395. 389. 374. 365. 347
- 27 Socratici Aristippus, Antisthenes, Æschines 365
- 28 Eudoxus 368
- 29 Diogenes Sinopensis 323
- 30 Speusippus 347. 339
- 31 Aristoteles 384. 367. 365. 347. 344. 342. 334. 322
- 32 Anaxarchus 339
- 33 Xenocrates 396. 339. 315
- 34 Crates 328
- 35 Theophrastus 322. 287
- 36 Stilpo 307
- 37 Polemo 315
- 38 Crantor 315. 278
- 39 Crates academicus 315. 287. 278
- 40 Epicurus 341. 329. 323. 310. 306
- 41 Arcesilaus 299. 278
- 42 Zeno Citieus 299. 279
- 43 Strato 287
- 44 Lyco 300. 287
- 45 Chrysippus 280
- 46 Lacydes 299.

#### Historians :

- 1 Cadmus Milesius, contemporary with Acusilaus
- 2 Theagenes Rheginus, in the reign of Cambyses



- 3 Eugeon Samius. Dionysius of Halicarnassus enumerates two classes of early historians, the first of the more ancient, the second of those who flourished a little before the Peloponnesian war. The first list contains *Eugeon* of *Samos*, *Deiochus* of *Proconnesus*, *Eudemus* of *Paros*, *Democles* of *Phigalea*, *Hecataeus* of *Miletus*, *Acusilaus* of *Argos*, *Charon* of *Lampsacus*, and *Amelesagoras* of *Chalcedon*.
- 4 Polyzelus preceded Ibycus the poet
- 5 Deiochus of Proconnesus. See N° 3
- 6 Eudemus Parius. See N° 3
- 7 Democles Phigaleus. See N° 3
- 8 Acusilaus. See N° 3
- 9 Amelesagoras. Earlier than Gorgias and Hecataeus
- 10 Hecataeus 520. 501
- 11 Dionysius Milesius 520
- 12 Charon Lampsacenus 504. 464
- 13 Hippys Rheginus. In the times of the Persian war
- 14 Hellanicus 496. 431. 406
- 15 Damastes. Dionysius names in his second list, a little before the Peloponnesian war, *Hellanicus* of *Lesbos*, *Damastes* of *Sigeum*, *Xenomedes* of *Chios*, *Xanthus* of *Lydia*.
- 16 Xenomedes Chius. See N° 15
- 17 Pherecydes 480
- 18 Xanthus 463. See N° 15
- 19 Herodotus 484. 478. 456. 443. 431. 409
- 20 Antiochus 423
- 21 Stesimbrotus Thasius. Contemporary with Pericles
- 22 Thucydides 471. 456. 431. 424. 423. 411. 403
- 23 Herodiceus, contemporary with Thrasymachus
- 24 Cratippus survived Thucydides
- 25 Clitodemus or Clidemus, published after 377
- 26 Xenophon 424. 411. 401. 394. 374. 365. 362. 359
- 27 Ctesias Cnidius 401. 398. 384
- 28 Anaximander, in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon
- 29 Philistus 406. 363. 356
- 30 Ephorus 340. 333
- 31 Theopompus 411. 394. 360. 343. 305
- 32 Cephisodorus. His 12th book is quoted on the Sacred war  
B. C. 357—346

- 33 Dinon, father of Clitarchus
- 34 Simonides, contemporary with Speusippus
- 35 Leo Byzantinus, the disciple of Plato, or of Aristotle
- 36 Callisthenes 387. 357. Died about 328
- 37 Anaximenes 365. 362
- 38 Palæphatus Abydenus, in the reign of Alexander
- 39 Marsyas Pellæus 308
- 40 Demophilus 357, son of Ephorus
- 41 Hieronymus Cardianus 301
- 42 Philochorus 306
- 43 Diyllus 357. 339. 298. Diyllus belongs to the Ptolemæan age, although the precise time in which he lived is not known.
- 44 Athanis 363. Quoted by Diodorus and Plutarch; but his time is uncertain.
- 45 Psaon Plataënsis 298. Flourished in the Ptolemæan period.
- 46 Hermeias Methymnæus 375. His time is uncertain.
- 47 Dionysiodorus and Anaxis. Their Hellenic History described by Diodorus ended at the archonship of *Nicomachus* Ol. 104. 4 inclusive; but when they wrote is not known.

## Orators :

- 1 Gorgias B. C. 459. 442. 427
- 2 Antipho 479. 412. 411
- 3 Andocides 467. 432. 415. 404—402. 400. 391
- 4 Lysias 458. 443. 411. 404. 403. 394. 388. 384. 378
- 5 Archinus 403. 402
- 6 Cephalus 402. 379. 372
- 7 Aristophon Azeniensis 403. 372. 362. 355. 354
- 8 Isocrates 436. 380. 374. 366. 365. 356. 355. 353. 346. 342. 340. 338
- 9 Leodamas 372
- 10 Callistratus 373. 372. 371. 361. 356
- 11 Thrasybulus Colyttensis 372
- 12 Melanopus 371
- 13 Androtion 385. 355
- 14 Isæus 364. 360. 358
- 15 Lyeurgus 343. 337. 335. 331. 330. 323

- 16 Eubulus 355. 349. 348. 343. 340. 330
- 17 Æschines 389. 362. 345. 343. 330. 314
- 18 Aristophon Colyttensis 341. 340
- 19 Demosthenes 382. 376. 365. 364. 360. 355—339. 333—  
329. 324. 323. 322
- 20 Cydias 352
- 21 Hegesippus vel Crobylus 343. 340
- 22 Hyperides 335. 323. 322
- 23 Polyuctus 343. 335
- 24 Demades 335. 326. 318
- 25 Mærocles 335. 333
- 26 Hegemon 317
- 27 Pythoeles 317
- 28 Dinarchus 361. 336. 324. 321. 318. 307. 292
- 29 Philinus 337
- 30 Demetrius Phalereus 325. 317. 309. 307
- 31 Demochares 322. 302. 280
- 32 Stratocles 307. 302.

## § 22 EXTENT AND POPULATION OF ANCIENT GREECE.

Those who have speculated upon the subject of population have laid down the maxim, that war is one of the positive checks upon population. Under the positive checks are enumerated “the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, “wars, plague, and famine.” But this maxim is not quite consistent with facts which are at the same time acknowledged. Rome increased in numbers during the continual wars of the first ages of the republic. “The constant drains from wars “had introduced the habit of giving nearly full scope to the “power of population.” In modern Europe, those nations which had the largest share in the late revolutionary wars have increased in their population. The increased numbers of England are well known. There has been an increase in Germany; but above all in France; the country in which there was the greatest consumption of human life, and the largest demand for military service. The population of France in 1792 was 26,363,074. In 1813 it had swelled to 28,786,911. A habitual state of war among free nations creates a demand for men, and calls into existence a number of children, who, but for that demand, would never have been born.



How, then, can that be said to be a check upon population, which is found to impel it, and which causes a greater number of persons to be born than would otherwise have been called into life? There are instances of wars which have destroyed the population of a country, when a military people overwhelms a corrupt enervated and declining state, whose population is stationary. But here other causes cooperate. The preventive check is already in operation in the shape of vice, and prepares the way for the scourge of war. The check is here given, not by war simply, but by war combined with other circumstances. It may further be demonstrated that other visitations, which are reckoned among the positive checks, have in fact an ultimate tendency to cause the species to multiply more rapidly. The Tables for the population of Prussia and Lithuania, which Malthus has given from Sussmilch, shew the effects of epidemics and plagues. In 1709, 1710, a plague destroyed in two years a third of the people, or 247,733 persons. But the proportion of births to deaths, which was 163 to 100 in the years preceding the plague, became in the year that followed it 320 to 100. And the total number of births, which was in the year before the plague 26,896, rose in the year after it to 32,522, notwithstanding the diminution of the adult population. Doubtless, but for the waste occasioned by the plague, many thousands of these would never have been born. The author of the *Essay on Population* admits that “after the desolations of war, pestilence, and famine, subsistence will soon increase beyond the wants of the reduced numbers; and that “the invariable consequence will be, that population, which was before nearly stationary, will begin to increase, and will continue its progress till the former population is recovered.” He acknowledges that “the effects of the plague in London in 1666 were not perceptible 15 or 20 years afterwards;” that “it may be doubted whether Turkey and Egypt are upon an average much less populous for the plagues which periodically lay them waste;” that, “if the number of the people be considerably less now than formerly, it is rather to be attributed to tyranny and oppression, than to the losses which they sustain from the plague.” He affirms that “if the devastations made by the small pox had been many

“ thousand degrees greater than the plague, he should doubt whether the average population of the earth had been diminished by them.” These propositions are undeniable; but then they are incompatible with the principles which Malthus has laid down at the outset of his enquiry. These admissions refute and overthrow all that reasoning which represents war, pestilence, and famine as expedients devised by Providence to counteract the tendency of his own law of increase.

The doctrine of Malthus exhibits a perverted view of the operations of Nature. The principle of increase, instead of producing the necessity for those visitations, is in reality adapted to repair the waste; instead of being the cause, it supplies the remedy. For if the total number of births in Turkey during a series of years were to be computed, it would be found to be greater on account of the vacancies created by the plagues, than it would have been, had the annual births merely replaced the deaths which happened in the course of nature. A rapid succession of deaths is followed by a rapid succession of births; and the aggregate effect of all the plagues which are recorded in history has undoubtedly been to call into existence an infinite multitude of human beings, who would never have been born at all, if it had not been for the increase of births produced by those visitations. If it be a just image to compare the checks upon population (whatever they are) to “ a weight placed upon a spring that has a perpetual tendency to rise,” these inflictions of war or pestilence are not the weight upon the spring; on the contrary, they remove the weight with which the spring was loaded. A single example will place this in the clearest point of view. In Abyssinia, and the countries which border upon it, the computation is, that 1 in 17 or 18 dies annually, instead of 1 in 34, 36, or 40, the proportion in European states. But, as the population in these countries is at least stationary, (for the enquiry has always been why it does not increase,) it is manifest that the deaths are replaced by an equal number of births. It is found in England that the annual births are to the whole population as 1 to 35. In Norway the births are 1 to 34. In the Pays de Vaud, 1 to 36. But in Abyssinia and the bordering countries the average births are as 1 to 17 or 18; that

is to say, the reproduction of human beings (if I may so speak) proceeds more rapidly in the proportion of two to one in those countries, than it does in countries which are rich, flourishing, and civilised. For the sake of a comparative view, we may assume the possible number of annual births to be equal to the whole number of females between the ages of 20 and 40. This proportion in England is about 289 in 2000, which would suppose the possible number of annual births to be as 1 to 7, compared with the whole population. Let us take a lower estimate, and assume the average number of annual births to be capable of rising to 1 in 10, as compared with the whole inhabitants. The problem, then, which requires solution, is this; why, when the possible number of births is 1 to 10, the actual number amounts to 1 in 17 or 18 in barbarous countries, and is restrained to 1 in 35 in the civilised countries of modern Europe. In Turkey or Abyssinia, or the Negro nations of Africa, to keep the population stationary, nearly full scope is given to the principle of increase, while in England the average births are not equal to a fifth of the whole number of females between the ages of 20 and 40. The effect of war, plague, and similar devastations has been merely to cause a more rapid succession, not to check the population. The actual population in barbarous countries is at a low amount, not from the presence of war or pestilence, but from the absence or imperfect state of civilisation, agriculture, and commerce. Let not, however, these observations be misunderstood. It is not here denied that war and pestilence are evils; it is only denied that they are evils of such a sort as to diminish the numbers of mankind.

Malthus divides the checks upon population into three; *moral restraint*, *vice*, and *misery*. But these three are reducible to two. 1 Causes that arise out of the conduct of man. 2 Causes that arise out of the condition to which his nature is subjected. The first of these, which may be called *moral*, include moral restraint and vice: the second, which may be termed *physical*, are contained in what Malthus has expressed by misery. The first influence population by preventing the birth; the second, by removing out of life the existing numbers. But, as the causes belonging to the second class, those which destroy the existing numbers, are accompanied by the invari-



able condition of accelerating the rate of increase, these, when their whole effects are taken into view, cannot be truly accounted checks on population. The checks, then, lie wholly in the moral, and not in the physical causes. In human societies there are three forms, in which the restraint upon the principle of increase is exhibited: 1 When an actually low amount of population is kept stationary; which is the state of barbarous countries. 2 When a population declines; which is the state of corrupt, degenerate, and oppressed communities. 3 When an actually dense population remains stationary, or but very slowly advances; which is the condition of rich, civilised, and industrious nations. And in all these three forms of society the checks to population may be traced to the moral causes. In the last mentioned form the increase is restrained by the prudential check; in the two former, by tyranny and bad government, by vicious habits, or by the want of activity, industry, and skill.

War, in its effects upon population, is of a mixed nature. Its influence is partly physical and partly moral. As it regards the consumption of human life, it is to be classed with famine or pestilence as a physical agent. It may be considered among the moral causes, as it impresses a particular character upon a people. And the adherents of that maxim, which numbers war among the positive checks, may perhaps assert, that in this latter sense at least, as a moral cause operating upon society, a state of war keeps down population by superinducing habits which are unfavourable to a dense population in a country. This is so far from being true, that on the contrary war generates habits which create a dense population. It produces energy and force of mind. To borrow an expression from Malthus, the people *adapt themselves to a state of war*: they acquire habits of vigilance and activity. The resources of a country are cultivated to the utmost. This state of the people is favourable to a dense population. In fact we know that England and France have multiplied during the war: France has become one of the most populous nations of the continent, and England has attained a density of population greater than that which exists in any known country at the present time. War, then, among civilised states, can in no sense be said necessarily to act as a check upon population.

It produces a rapid succession of births; it may generate habits which stimulate the active powers of men. But an actually dense population is melted down by habits of an opposite sort; by the effeminacy and luxury which are the characters of a declining people. When a nation verges to decay, and has arrived at an enervated condition, luxury and indolence gradually pervade all classes, depravity of morals operates as a preventive check, and the population of the country declines with its moral vigour. The actual population, then, depends upon the moral condition of the people much more than upon their situation with respect to war or peace. An intelligent industrious and active nation, with a competent share of freedom, will be populous, notwithstanding the disadvantages of a state of war; and that very state of war itself, by keeping alive the energies of the nation, may be the cause of their maintaining a dense population; while a corrupt and degenerate people, which will be incapable of a free constitution, will be melted down to a low population, notwithstanding the advantages of a state of peace; and that very state of peace itself, by relaxing the moral habits of the people, and inducing luxury and corruption, may be the remote cause of their decline of numbers.

The populousness of Ancient Greece during its period of war and independence strikingly confirms the preceding observations. The actual density of its population will be estimated by comparing the indications that remain of the numbers of the inhabitants with the extent of the territory in which they were contained. The following calculation of the extent of that country in square English miles is made upon a division of the surface of Arrowsmith's Map of Greece and the adjacent countries. According to that map, Thessaly contains about 5674 square English miles, the central provinces, including Eubœa, contain 7698, and Peloponnesus 7779; which may be thus distributed, although precise accuracy in stating the extent of the several provinces cannot be obtained, because the boundaries of these provinces cannot be everywhere defined.

	Square miles.	Square miles.
<i>Thessaly</i> , including <i>Magnesia</i> and the country to <i>Thermopylæ</i> .....	.....	5674
<i>Acarmania</i> .....	1571	
<i>Ætolia</i> .....	1165	
<i>Phocis</i> , including <i>Doris</i> and <i>Locris</i> .....	1570	
<i>Bœotia</i> .....	1119 <sup>a</sup>	
<i>Attica</i> .....	720 <sup>b</sup>	
<i>Megaris</i> .....	143	
	—	6288
<i>Eubœa</i> .....		1410

PELOPONNESUS <sup>c</sup>.

<i>Achaia</i> , including <i>Sicyonia</i> and <i>Phlius</i> .....	783	
<i>Elis</i> , including <i>Triphylia</i> .....	930	
<i>Arcadia</i> ... ..	1701	
<i>Argolis</i> , including <i>Corinthia</i> , <i>Epidauris</i> , <i>Træzenis</i> , <i>Hermionis</i> , and <i>Cynuria</i> .....	1307	
<i>Laconia</i> .....	1896	} 3058
<i>Messenia</i> .....	1162	
	—	7779

## ISLANDS.

<i>Corcyra</i> .....	211	
<i>Leucadia</i> .....	116	
<i>Cephallenia</i> .....	383	
<i>Ithaca</i> .....	22	
<i>Zacynthus</i> .....	153	
<i>Cythera</i> .....	126	
<i>Ægina</i> .....	41	
<i>Salamis</i> .....	28	
	—	1080
		22,231

<sup>a</sup> This includes the Lake *Copaïs*, which may have an area of 41 square miles, leaving to *Bœotia* 1078.

<sup>b</sup> In the Penny Cyclopædia vol. III p. 62 <sup>b</sup> art. *ATTICA* are these remarks upon my calculation of the area of *Attica*: "With respect to Mr. Clinton's "arguments deduced from the area of " *Attica*, which he estimates at 748 "square miles including *Salamis*, we "may observe that the area, as deter- "mined from all maps hitherto pub- "lished, is necessarily incorrect; the "coast line having only been accurately

"ascertained by Captain Copeland in "1830, and the interior boundary line "being still very inadequately laid "down." On this latter point he had already remarked p. 59 <sup>b</sup>: "Though "we now know the coast line of *Attica* "with accuracy, we are still without "that exact knowledge of the inland "boundaries which would enable us to "avoid considerable error in estimating "the surface."

The effect which our ignorance of the interior boundary would produce upon our estimate of the area is probably



It is highly probable that these provinces and islands contained collectively, during the period from the Persian wars to the death of Alexander, more than 3,500,000 inhabitants; a rate of population not much below that which was found in Great Britain in 1821<sup>d</sup>. This population of course would not be uniformly distributed. In South Britain, though the average was 210 persons to the square mile, the proportions varied in different counties. In Kent the rate of population was 282, in Lancashire 599, while in Lincolnshire it was 105 and in Westmoreland 69<sup>e</sup>. Thus in Greece the population would be more dense in *Attica* and less so in *Bœotia*; the

much overrated. For in the first place, as the general direction of the frontier is known, an error of assigning too much to *Attica* in one part of the line would be balanced by the opposite error of giving too much to *Bœotia* in another part; and the average result would not much affect the area of the province. Secondly, the inland frontier forms a small part of the boundary of *Attica* in comparison with the winding circuit of the coast; and it is admitted that the coast is accurately known, at least since the late survey.

With respect to the area of *Attica*, this author, who had the advantage of Captain Copeland's accurate survey to guide him, affirms p. 59 b that "the area may be roughly stated at about 700 English square miles, not including *Salamis*, which perhaps contains about 40 square miles." *Attica* therefore with *Salamis* according to this calculation has 740 square miles; according to mine, 748:—an approximation much nearer than I could have expected, and greatly in favour of the accuracy of Arrowsmith's map.

<sup>c</sup> In assigning the proportions to the provinces of Peloponnesus, we cannot every where accurately fix the limits of *Arcadia* on the N. the E. and the W. and in these quarters the adjacent provinces might have more, and *Arcadia* might have less, than is here expressed. We can determine with some exactness the northern boundary of *Messenia* and *Laconia*; but within this space the relative proportions, which belonged to each of these two, cannot be adjusted with precision. *Messenia* (which was the most fertile province of Peloponnesus) is said by Plutarch to be "not inferior to *Laconia* in extent, and the first country in Greece for fertility."

But after the year B. C. 369 some tracts in the north of *Laconia* were acquired by the Arcadians; and the Messenians upon their reestablishment seem to have extended their limits eastwards. Plutarch's account would describe these proportions as they stood after B. C. 369. Polybius II. 38 attests that *Arcadia* and *Laconia* each far exceeded *Achaia* in extent. And this agrees with the proportions here assigned.

<sup>d</sup> The rate of population stood thus in Great Britain in 1821.

	Inhabitants.	Area in sq. miles.	to each sq. mile.
England	11,486,700	50,535	227 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wales . . .	731,800	7425	98 $\frac{4}{7}$ nearly
	12,218,500	57,960	210 $\frac{4}{5}$
Scotland	2,135,300	28,980	74 nearly
	14,353,800	86,940	165 $\frac{1}{10}$ .

Scotland is computed to be half as large as South Britain (see *Population Abstracts* p. xxxiii). The area of the other two is given by Mr. Rickman from actual admeasurement upon the map. The area of Greece, at 165 persons to the square mile, would give 3,668,115 inhabitants.

<sup>e</sup> These were the proportions in 1821. But at the census of 1831 the numbers were much increased; namely,

	Inhabitants.	to each sq. mile.
England . .	13,089,338	259
Wales . . . .	805,236	108
	13,894,574	239 $\frac{3}{4}$

And the proportion in Kent was 311, in Lancashire 729, in Lincolnshire 115, in Westmoreland 72.

proportion would be greater in *Thessaly* than in *Peloponnesus*, in *Elis* than in *Arcadia*. The population too would fluctuate with the prosperity or adverse fortune of each particular district, and yet the aggregate amount might remain nearly the same.

The *citizens* in the Greek republics we may assume to mean all the males above the age of 20 years; although in many republics, perhaps in most, the citizen was not admitted to the privilege of a vote, and had not access to the offices of the state, till the age of 30. The military age at Athens for foreign service was from 20 to 60. At Lacedæmon it appears that military service was required during a period of 40 years. In the smaller republics the military age probably began sooner, or lasted longer; and we may estimate military service abroad to have extended from the age of 18 to 60.

The proportions of these several ages to the whole population were these in Great Britain in 1821.

The males above the age of 20 were 4897	} in 20,160 persons.
———— above the age of 30 . . . . 3432 $\frac{2}{3}$	
———— from 20 to 30 . . . . . 1464 $\frac{1}{3}$	
———— from 20 to 60 were . . . . 4140	
———— from 18 to 60 about . . . . 4644	}

Upon these proportions of the military age, and of the citizens, to the whole, we may form an estimate of the population of Ancient Greece. We are now to examine some of the testimonies which may be collected. A survey of all the provinces and republics which composed the Greek nation would exceed the space of this essay. It is therefore proposed to limit the present enquiry to Attica Bœotia and the states of Peloponnesus.

The total population of ATTICA in B. C. 317 may be taken at 527,660. And of these the *citizens*, or those who had votes in the Public Assembly, amounted to 21,000. About 127 years before, they had been 19,000, until Pericles reduced their numbers. Similar numbers are mentioned by Plato. Twenty thousand were computed as the number in the earliest times. This number, 20,000, is attested by other evidences, which are recorded in the Tables B. C. 422, and is still further established by the amount of military force which the Athe-

nians employed on various occasions, and which will occur for notice hereafter. Between the Persian wars and the time of Alexander, the Athenians, besides the demands of war, supplied many colonies. As to Amphipolis in 465, when 10,000 settlers "of themselves and their allies" were sent; to Thurium in 443; to Amphipolis again in 437; to the Chersonese about the same time. These colonies were planned by Pericles to provide for the poorer citizens, or to relieve the state of its superfluous numbers. That to Thurium would provide a resource for many of those who had been disfranchised in the preceding year. After the death of Pericles the same policy was pursued. Lesbos in 427 received a colony of 2700 Athenians; Melos 500 in B. C. 415, and Samos 2000 in 352. These expedients to relieve the population probably contributed in their ultimate effects to augment the number of those who were left behind, by acting as a stimulus, and increasing the number of the births; for the citizens, who were 19,000 in B. C. 444, were after all their losses of territory and diminution of strength and consequence, 21,000 in B. C. 317.

The *metæci* at the census of Demetrius were 10,000. By *metæci* are not to be understood those who paid the *μετοίκιον*, for it appears from Isæus that in certain cases the women paid a *μετοίκιον*, and among the *μέτοικοι* were many *ισοτελεῖς* who were exempted from the tax. These, the most important class of the *metæci* would not be computed at all in the census, if those only who paid the *μετοίκιον* had been numbered. In estimating the numbers at B. C. 317, I have measured the citizens and the *metæci* by one standard, the number of males above the age of 20. It has been thought that "the numbers of the *metæci* are probably exaggerated in that calculation." But my estimate is confirmed by the proportion of *metæci* to citizens in B. C. 431. Thucydides thus states the forces of Athens at that epoch:

Hoplitæ . . . . .	13,000
Cavalry . . . . .	1,200
	<hr/>
	14,200
In garrisons . . . . .	16,000
	<hr/>
	30,200

The 14,200 were citizens between the ages of 20 and 60.



The 16,000 were the *ephebi*, from 18 to 20, the citizens above the age of 60, and the *metæci*. In Great Britain, when the males from 20 to 60 amounted to 4140, the men above 60 were 757, and the youths from 18 to 20 were about 504. If we apply these proportions, we shall find that when the men between 20 and 60 were 14,200, the men above 60 would be 2596, and the *ephebi* would be 1728. But these two numbers being deducted from the 16,000 will leave 11,676 for the *metæci* who were *hoplitæ*. And that these were not all is plainly expressed by Thucydides. Now it cannot be said that 10,000 *metæci* for all the males above the age of 20 in B. C. 317 is an exaggerated calculation, when it appears that in 431 the *hoplitæ* alone were 11,676, and that these were not the whole number. And in reality the *metæci* in 317 would be rather more numerous than I have expressed them; and the 10,000 will represent those only who were of the military age;—the males capable of bearing arms, or between the ages of 20 and 60.

Among the *metæci* in 431 were probably included many of those 5000 who had been excluded—ἀπηλάθην—from the list of citizens at the Scrutiny in 444, which would raise the proportion of *metæci* at that period. It was perhaps the policy of Pericles to encourage the *metæci*, a class of inhabitants who brought an accession of wealth and industry to the state, and of whose power he could not be jealous. We further learn from that passage of Thucydides that the number of citizens was increased again since the year 444, when they had been reduced to 14,240. For, if to 14,200 we add the men above the age of 60, or 2596 persons, we have 16,796 for the number of citizens, or of those who had votes in the public assembly: a considerable increase in 13 years, even if we suppose all to be included in this computation; especially when the colony to Thurium had drawn off a considerable number of inhabitants. But the 1600 *archers* mentioned by Thucydides might perhaps include some citizens, although the greater part would be composed of those barbarians, in the pay of the republic, whose ordinary number was 1000.

The *slaves* of Attica at the census of Demetrius were 400,000. Hume, in his Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations, supposes error or corruption in these numbers. Having pro-

duced arguments to shew that, when the number of citizens is said to be 21,000, and of strangers 10,000, men of full age are to be understood, and that, these being but the fourth of the inhabitants, the free Athenians were by this account 84,000, and the strangers 40,000, he assumes that, when the slaves are mentioned, the males only of full age are intended; that 400,000 males of full age would mean 1,600,000 for the slaves, and 1,720,000 for the total population of Attica. He pronounces that for 400,000 we ought to read 40,000, which would give 160,000 slaves and 284,000 for the whole of the inhabitants. But in that enumeration we are not to take the slaves as males of full age. In computing the citizens and *metæci* the object was to ascertain their political and military strength. The citizens had a share in the government; the *metæci* served in war. But slaves were property, and had no civil rights; and in enumerating these it would be necessary to compute all the individuals who composed that property. The 400,000 therefore express all the slaves, of either sex and of every age; and in this number the men of full age would be less than 100,000.

The larger number, 400,000, understood in the sense of the total number, is confirmed by various circumstances. 1 In the time of Hyperides the slaves who worked in the mines, and were employed in country labour, were more than 150,000. But, if the whole number had been only 160,000, according to Hume's estimate, there would remain only 10,000 of all ages and of both sexes; that is to say, only 2500 males of full age, for domestic service and for trade and manufactures in Athens itself and the three ports, and for service on board the triremes. 2 The Athenian slaves served as rowers on board the ships. They were employed in manufactures, and represented the labouring classes of Modern Europe. But as the free population of Attica was about 127,000, the slave population taken at 400,000 would be to the free as 10,000 to 3175, or rather more than three to one; not much more than the proportion which the labouring classes bear to the other classes in Great Britain. 3 The Athenians in the age of Demosthenes imported annually 800,000 medimni of corn for the subsistence of Attica. This large importation, amounting to 876,302 bushels annually, in

addition to the produce of the soil of Attica, which contained about 478,720 English acres, implies a greater population than the estimate of Hume allows. 4 According to Thucydides the whole circuit of Athens, including Piræus Munychia and the long walls, was 178 stadia. If we compute the stadium with Rennell at no more than 718 to a degree, or 508 English feet to the stadium, the extent would still be more than 17 English miles. The circuit was larger than that of Paris, and nearly equal to that of Rome in the time of Augustus; and yet the whole of the space contained was crowded with inhabitants, when Pericles in 431 called the people from the country within the walls. The numbers assembled within the walls of Athens on that occasion could not have been less than 500,000 persons.

What the ordinary population of Athens itself was, it is not easy to determine. The Athenians were fond of a country life; and between the Persian war and the Peloponnesian had decorated the country with houses. Attica, with Salamis, contained 174 borough towns. Many of these were inconsiderable; but Eleusis was probably populous. Acharnæ, the largest, had in B. C. 431 3000 *hoplitæ*, implying a free population of at least 12,000, not computing slaves, who might be twice that number. Piræus Munychia and Phalerum must have contained in the prosperous days of Athens a great population. The circuit of the city itself was  $43 + 17 = 60$  stadia. It is attested by various evidences to have been the most populous city in Greece; and, although the exact number of inhabitants is not named, we know from Xenophon that it contained more than 10,000 houses. London contains  $7\frac{1}{2}$  persons to a house; but at Paris formerly the proportion was near 25. If we take about half the proportion of Paris, and assume 12 persons to a house, we obtain 120,000 for the population of Athens; and we may perhaps assign 40,000 more for the collective inhabitants of Piræus Munychia and Phalerum.

We collect from Xenophon that the free population of BÆOTIA was equal to that of Attica. For he affirms that the *citizens of Athens* were not less in number than the Bæotians. And this is very probable, when we consider the extent and fertility of the province and the number of the cities which



it contained. Bœotia appears to have contained 14 states. Three of these, Eleutheræ Plataea and Oropus, were separated from the Bœotian confederacy and attached to Athens; Oropus by conquest, Eleutheræ and Plataea by voluntary cession. The other Bœotian states were these: Anthedon, Copæ, Orchomenus, Chæronea, Lebadea, Coronea, Haliartus, Thespiæ, Tanagra, Parasopia, Thebes. These were independent states, except when oppressed by the superior power of Thebes. They participated in the four great councils by which the affairs of the Bœotian confederacy were directed, and had a share in the appointment of the Bœotarchs, whose number was perhaps proportioned to the number of states composing the confederacy. Each of these states contained within its territory a number of smaller towns or villages.

The observation of Xenophon, implying that the collective number of citizens in the Bœotian states was equal to the citizens of Athens, or about 20,000, is confirmed by Thucydides: from whom it appears, that at the battle of Delium B. C. 424 the Bœotian forces were more than 18,500 men. But 18,500 men from 18 to 60 years of age will give a total of 80,640 persons. A force, however, of *more* than 18,500 effective men in the field will suppose a total of more than that number; and we may state the total military population of Bœotia as at least 20,000; and the total free population will be 87,000 persons. A number rather exceeding the estimate of Xenophon<sup>e</sup>. In Bœotia, an agricultural country, which had no commercial wealth like Athens, the slaves would not be numerous. If, however, we assume them to be no more than half as many as the free, or 43,500, of both sexes and of all ages, we obtain 130,500 for the total population of Bœotia in the age of Thucydides and Xenophon.

A probable conjecture may be formed what proportion of this number belonged to Thebes. According to Diodorus and Plutarch, at the destruction of Thebes by Alexander more than 6000 were slain and more than 30,000 were sold as slaves. Barthelemy<sup>f</sup> estimates from these *data* that the free

<sup>e</sup> Twenty thousand *citizens*, or males above the age of 20, would give a total number of 82,360 persons.

<sup>f</sup> Anachars. tom. III p. 491. He observes that some were spared, and that

many probably fled: *On peut présumer en conséquence que le nombre des habitans de Thèbes et de son district pouvoit monter à 50,000 personnes de tout sexe et de tout âge, sans y comprendre*

inhabitants of Thebes and the towns in its territory at that time might be 50,000, a number by no means exceeding the probable amount. If we suppose 25,000 slaves, the population of the Thebaid would be 75,000. And this is confirmed by Dicæarchus. Thebes, when visited by him after its restoration by Cassander, is described in one passage as 43 stadia, in another as 70 stadia in circuit. Barthelemy endeavours to reconcile these two numbers. The first, however, alone can be relied upon as authentic. And 43 stadia, upon the reduced standard of Rennell, of 508 feet, will give 21,844 feet, or more than 4 miles; at the Olympic stadium, of 604, they will give 25,972, or nearly five, for the circumference of Thebes. Now, as Athens, which was 60 stadia in circuit, contained 10,000 houses, we may assume that Thebes, which was 43, contained at least half that number; and 5000 houses, at 12 persons to each, would give 60,000 inhabitants for Thebes in the time of Dicæarchus. It cannot be supposed that Thebes was less populous in the days of its greatness: and Pausanias in fact attests, that the walls only equalled the extent of the former city. But if the Theban territory contained 75,000 inhabitants (60,000 of whom might be resident in the city), when the total population of the province was 130,500, this would leave 55,500 inhabitants for the other 10 states of Bœotia, or an average population of between 5000 and 6000

*les esclaves.* Hume p. 562 adopts a much lower estimate: "All those who bore arms were put to the sword, and they amounted only to 6000 men. Among these were some strangers and manumitted slaves. The captives, consisting of old men, women, children, and slaves, were sold, and they amounted to 30,000. We may therefore conclude that the free citizens in Thebes, of both sexes and all ages, were near 24,000, the strangers and slaves about 12,000.—Thirty-six thousand was the whole number of people, both in Thebes and the neighbouring territory." This estimate cannot be admitted. 1 He omits to take account of those who escaped, concerning whom there is ample testimony in Arrian, Ælian, Plutarch, Pausanias, Diodorus. Some did not concur in the war, and appear to have withdrawn from Thebes before the attack was made, or to have been in exile. Some whole families were spared by the

conqueror. Many escaped by flight after the action.

2 Hume supposes the 30,000 captives to include the slaves. But it is not the practice of Greek writers to include the slaves and free persons under one description, or to take account of slaves at all on such occasions. And the passages in which this transaction is noticed clearly refer to free persons only.

3 Those who fell, to the number of more than 6000, were men of the military age. Those who escaped, or fled, or were in exile, were also males of full age. Perhaps these may be computed collectively at half the number of the slain; and we may estimate all the freemen between the ages of 18 and 60 as at least 9000. But these will be less than a fourth of the whole; and 9000 males of the military age will give about 39,000 for the total free population. The slaves therefore were not included in that estimate of 30,000 captives.

to each. This proportion may be considered probable in the age of Epaminondas, when Thespiæ and Orchomenus had been destroyed. In the preceding period, during the flourishing state of those two cities, the proportion of Thebes would be less, and that of the other Bœotian states would be more.

It will be remembered, that the estimates of Xenophon and Thucydides do not include Oropus and Eleutheræ, because these were subject to Athens, and were not members of the Bœotian confederacy. And yet these are to be computed in reckoning the collective population of Bœotia<sup>g</sup>. We may therefore probably state the inhabitants of Bœotia at 135,000. The soil of Bœotia was fertile; and its extent, computed at about 1080 square English miles, compared with a population of 135,000, would give just 125 persons to the square mile.

LACONIA, probably the largest province in Peloponnesus, is said to have once contained 100 towns. When the Dorians conquered it, they selected Sparta for the place of their own residence, and permitted the rest of the province to be occupied by a mixed population composed of Dorians and other strangers, and of the Achæans the original inhabitants. At their first settlement the Dorians appropriated to themselves a sixth part of the soil of Laconia; but by gradual encroachments upon the *periæci* they augmented this proportion, and at the final division of the lands the Spartans received nearly one-fourth of the whole territory.

The *periæci*, who were left in possession of three-fourths of the soil of Laconia, held their towns as vassals of the Spartans. They formed a part of the military force, and were sometimes placed in offices of trust. But they might be treated with great oppression, and were ready to all opportunities to throw off the yoke. Although their towns were inconsiderable, and are compared by Isocrates to the *demi* of Attica, yet their collective population appears to have been great. At the battle of Plataea in 479 the *periæci* supplied 10,000 men. If we assume this proportion to be the same as

<sup>g</sup> But not Plataea. For the population of Plataea at the period of which Thucydides speaks would be included in that of the Athenians; by whom the Plateans after the destruction of their city in 427 were admitted into the number of citizens. But it is probable that

the total population of Bœotia was not much diminished by the ruin of Plataea; for their territory was occupied and inhabited by the Thebans: Thucyd. III. 68. Some few Plateans remained, as partizans of the Thebans: Thucyd. *ibid*.



that which the Spartan force bore to the whole number on the same occasion, or five-eighths of the whole number of citizens, this would give 16,000 for the males of full age, and the total population of this class of the inhabitants of Laconia would amount to about 66,000 persons.

The *citizens* of Sparta, according to Aristotle, were said to have once amounted to 10,000. Isocrates asserts that the Dorian conquerors of Laconia did not originally exceed 2000 in number. If this account at all approached the truth, there was a great increase between that period and the time of Lycurgus. This augmentation was partly produced by the admission of strangers, which was practised during the early reigns. The legislation of Lycurgus appears to have caused a change in this respect: and yet the numbers of the citizens continued for some ages with but little diminution. In the time of Lycurgus, or at least in the reign of Polydorus, there were 9000 citizens. In B. C. 479 there were still more than 8000; which would suppose the total free population of Sparta and its territory to be about 33,000 persons<sup>h</sup>. After that period their numbers declined. In B. C. 369, at the time of the invasion of Laconia, the total number of Spartans probably did not exceed 2000; and Sparta in that age is described by Xenophon as τῶν ὀλιγανθρωποτάτων πόλεων οὔσα. About 45 years after that event, in the time of Aristotle, they were scarcely 1000; and 80 years later than Aristotle, in the reign of Agis B. C. 244, not more than 700 Spartans remained. This diminution is not to be ascribed to the ravages of war: for this cause would have operated in the period from Lycurgus to the Persian war. Within that period, a space according to Thucydides of about 330 years, the Lacedæmonians were engaged in the two Messenian wars, and in wars with the Argives and Arcadians, and sent forth besides some colonies; and yet in that time the numbers of the citizens did not much decline. The diminution is to be traced to the unequal distribution of the lands. The equal division of land, which had been intended by the legislator, no longer existed in practice. The 9000 Spartan allotments had been gradually transferred into few hands. In the time

<sup>h</sup> All the males above the age of 20 being 4897 in 20,160, 8031 males above that age would give 33,062 for the total free population.

of Aristotle near two-fifths of the soil belonged to women; and in the reign of Agis IV only one in seven among the citizens was possessed of landed property. Nor had the poorer citizens under the institutions of Lycurgus that resource which was open in other states, of seeking a subsistence in industry; being forbidden the occupations of manufactures or agriculture. Nor was any aid provided from the funds of the state. For the public tables, which were ordained by the laws of Lycurgus, could only be frequented by those who had property: those who could not contribute to the expense being excluded from the society. Under this state of things it would naturally happen that the numbers would decay.

The *Helots*, who formed the slave population of the state, were far more numerous in proportion to the free than the slaves of other Grecian cities. The observation of Thucydides upon this point is confirmed by Herodotus. In Attica we have seen that the proportion was more than three to one; but we learn from Herodotus that at the time of the Persian war the slaves to the free at Sparta were as 5 or 6 to 1. This larger proportion is explained, when we consider the condition of the Spartan slaves. Two species of slavery may be discerned among the Greeks. The one consisted of domestic slaves acquired by purchase. This was the kind of slavery which prevailed in Attica, and the numbers would vary in different states according to the wealth, the luxury, or commerce of each particular state. In the rich and trading communities of Athens and Corinth they would be numerous; supplying the place of the artisans and manufacturers in modern times. In poorer republics, which had little or no capital, and no foreign trade, and which subsisted wholly by agriculture, the domestic slaves would be few. Thus in Locris and Phocis, while the inhabitants retained their original simplicity of manners, there were no domestic slaves. The other species of slavery was that, in which all the inhabitants of a province had been reduced to subjection and deprived of their rights and liberties by the conquerors. Of this kind were the *Penestæ* in Thessaly, and the *Helots* at Sparta. A body of slaves of this description would from the nature of things be more numerous than the former species. The number of the former would be regulated by the wealth or wants of their

masters; the latter, remaining in the occupation of the soil, which they cultivated for the benefit of their conquerors, might multiply to any number that their masters might be able to govern.

The Helots were originally composed of the inhabitants of Laconian towns reduced to slavery; but their name was afterwards communicated to those Messenians who remained in the country after the second Messenian war. From this period they occupied the soil of Messenia and of those parts of Laconia which formed the territory of Sparta. They constituted the agricultural population of this region. The domestic slaves of the Spartan citizens were supplied from this body. They were besides employed in war, and often served as heavy-armed soldiers. Sometimes they received their freedom; and these emancipated slaves, under the various names of *νεοδαμώδεις*, *τρόφιμοι*, and other appellations, supplied the deficient numbers of the Spartans in their military expeditions. The Helots were often formidable to their masters; and some of the Helots of Messenia in 455 succeeded in escaping from the tyranny of the Spartans and were settled at Naupactus. From thence their descendants, 85 years afterwards, returned to inhabit their own country as an independent people<sup>i</sup>.

According to Herodotus, 35,000 Helots were present at the battle of Plataea in B. C. 479. If we were to follow the proportion which Herodotus himself supplies in the case of the Spartan citizens, and to assume these 35,000 to be  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of the total male adult population, the result would be that the total number of male Helots of full age would be 56,000, the total number of persons 231,000, and the proportion of slaves to free persons at Sparta as 7 to 1. But, since the same reasons would not exist for sparing the Helots as for sparing the other classes, it may perhaps be thought probable that their whole military force was drawn out on that occasion; and that 35,000 constituted all the males of the military age. If, then, we compute that this number composed all the male Helots between the ages of 20 and 60, even by this estimate the total population of the Helots would consist of 170,500

<sup>i</sup> The new state of Messenia was composed not only of Messenians collected from Naupactus and other quarters, but of Messenian Helots.



persons ; and the inhabitants of Laconia and Messenia may be calculated in this manner :

Spartans	8000	citizens.....	=	33,000
Περίουκοι	16,000	citizens.....	=	66,000
Helots	35,000	of military age	=	170,500
				<hr/>
				269,500

This computation, which certainly cannot exceed the truth, will make the Helots to the Spartans more than five to one ; conformably with the declaration of Thucydides, that the slaves in proportion to the free were most numerous at Sparta<sup>k</sup>. But, as the number of the Spartan citizens probably declined between the Persian war and the age of Thucydides, this proportion might have become in his time 6 to 1.

This description would not include the inhabitants of Asine and Methone, who were settled in Messenia by the Lacedæmonians. Some domestic slaves may be supposed in the habitations of the περίουκοι, and these are not computed in the preceding estimate : we may therefore conclude the total population of the two provinces to have been full 300,000, an amount which would give nearly 100 persons to the square mile.

There is reason to suppose that the aggregate population did not decline with the decay of the Spartan power. The

<sup>k</sup> Hume, Essay on the Populousness &c. p. 446, pursuing his exaggerated representation of Athenæus, by which he computes the slaves of Attica to the free as 6 to 1, reasons in this manner : “ Chios is said to contain more slaves than any Greek city except Sparta. “ Sparta then had more than Athens, “ in proportion to the number of citizens. The Spartans were 9000 in the “ town, 30,000 in the country. The “ male slaves therefore of full age must “ have been more than 780,000 : the “ whole number [780,000 × 4] more “ than 3,120,000. A number impossible to be maintained in a narrow “ barren country, such as Laconia, which “ had no trade.” There are three errors in this reasoning. 1 He assumes that, if the slaves in Attica were as 6 to 1, they must at Sparta have been 20 to 1, because at Sparta the proportion was greater than at Athens. A conclusion quite unwarranted. 2 Having assumed the original number of lots, 39,000, to

be the number of citizens in all future times, (in itself a considerable error,) he makes this aggregate amount the standard for computing the number of slaves. But 30,000 of these were the περίουκοι, and the περίουκοι had no jurisdiction over the Helots. These were the slaves of the Spartans alone ; and their numbers are to be compared with the citizens of Sparta. 3 He supposes the question to refer only to *Laconia*. But in the age of Thucydides *Messenia* was included ; the slaves of Sparta being the inhabitants of Messenia. And these two provinces, so far from being a narrow territory, contained more than  $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of the whole peninsula.

I do not refer to the division of Peloponnesus into provinces, but to its extent of surface as expressed in square English miles at p. 270. Of this the Lacedæmonians possessed 3058 parts out of 7779 ; which may be called more than three-eighths in round numbers.

deficient numbers of Sparta itself would be partly supplied by *neodamodes* and other classes of freedmen. The Laconian towns would probably improve with the acquisition of a greater share of liberty ; and it is not to be supposed that Messenia would be less populous after the establishment of independence than it was during the period of its servitude.

The ARCADIANs, the largest of the Greek tribes, were divided into many independent states ; and each of these contained several inferior towns or villages. In the north of Arcadia lay Psophis, Clitor, Cynætha, Pheneos, Stymphalus ; towards the middle Caphyæ, Orchomenus ; on the west were Telphussa, Heræa, Aliphera, and Phigalia ; in the south the Parrhasii, the Eutresii, Mænalus, Ægytis, and perhaps the district of Tripolis ; on the east Mantinea and Tegea.

Mantinea, which adjoined the territory of the Argives, was composed of four or five hamlets, the inhabitants of which were collected into one city. The Mantineans were deprived of their walls by the Lacedæmonians in 385, and compelled to inhabit their villages. Their city was restored 15 years afterwards, and Mantinea continued to be a leading city of Arcadia down to the times of the Achæan League. The force of Mantinea may be collected from a passage of Lysias ; and we may conclude that at the period of which he speaks, about the year 402, the Argives were equal in number to the Athenians, and that the military population, or the citizens, of Mantinea were full 3000. This will give about 13,000 for the free population of the Mantinean territory.

The Tegeans lay between Mantinea and Laconia, and were bounded on the east by Cynuria. They were divided into four tribes ; and in early times had contended successfully with Lacedæmon. At the battle of Plataea the force of Tegea was 3000 men. It was not usual to send the whole force of a state upon a distant march, and we may probably estimate the force of the Tegeans on this occasion as not more than three-fourths of their whole number. This would give 4000 for the military population of Tegea ; and, if all the males from 18 to 60 years of age were 4000, the total free population would be 17,400. Tegea therefore, in the time of the Persian war, would be more populous than Mantinea in the time of which Lysias speaks.

Forty towns contributed their inhabitants in B. C. 371 to form the new state of Megalopolis; which was founded near the frontiers of Laconia, and had a territory assigned to it more extensive than that of any other Arcadian state, extending southwards to Laconia, and northwards for about 23 English miles from the city into the middle of the province. The new city itself was fifty stadia in circuit; and the territory in B. C. 318 contained 15,000 men capable of bearing arms. The total population therefore was about 65,120, and, if we calculate the slaves and strangers at half the whole amount, Megalopolis would contain at that time about 7500 citizens. The Arcadian assembly of *ten thousand* held its meetings at Megalopolis; and the presence of the Great Council of the nation would naturally draw together a considerable number of residents.

We may conjecture the probable number of Arcadian citizens by comparing the other states with Tegea or Mantinea. Orchomenus sent 1200 men to the battle of Plataea. Hence we may infer that Orchomenus had at least 1600 men of the military age, or more than half the number of Mantinea. But as some states were less than Orchomenus, we may take a lower proportion as the average population of each. If we assume that the 16 states including Orchomenus contained one with another two-fifths of the number of citizens which Lysias ascribed to Mantinea, we shall obtain 1200 for the average proportion. This will give an aggregate of 26,200 for the free male population, and the males above the age of 20 being 4897 in 20,160 persons, the total free population would consist of 107,850 persons. And if we assume the slaves in all Arcadia to be only half the number of the free, or 53,900, we obtain 161,750 for the total number of inhabitants; about 95 persons to each square mile.

ACHAIA had originally twelve divisions or districts, each containing 7 or 8 hamlets. Although the Achæans had enjoyed a greater share of tranquillity than many other states of Greece, yet they seem to have somewhat declined in population. The twelve states continued from their first settlement down to the time of Herodotus. Between Herodotus and the rise of the Achæan League two had disappeared, and the states of Achaia were reduced to ten. And at the esta-



blishment of the League the force of the Achæans was so inconsiderable, that, according to Plutarch, the collective population of all the ten states was scarcely equal to the inhabitants of a single city. But they inhabited a narrow territory; probably not exceeding an area of 651 square English miles<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps we may assume that the twelve states contained collectively 10,000 citizens. This will give about 41,200 for the total free population. Admitting half that number of slaves, we obtain 61,800 persons for the total number of inhabitants, or nearly 95 persons to the square mile.

The adjoining state of SICYON was more populous in proportion to its extent. The Sicyonians had 3000 *hoplitæ* at Platea. These at least were citizens. Their light-armed troops were equal in number. But, as the Sicyonians possessed a race of slaves of the class of vassals, like the Helots or *Penestæ*, these probably served as light-armed troops. At the same time the Sicyonians had a naval force at Mycale. They had 12 ships at Artemisium; and these were augmented to 15 at Salamis. Their number at Mycale is not expressed. But if they had ten, the crews would scarcely be less than 2000 men. The Sicyonians then would have about 8000 men on service at the same time. But if we estimate these at three-fourths of their whole military population, including slaves, then 10,630 males between the ages of 18 and 60 will give 46,164 for the aggregate population of Sicyon and its territory at the period of the Persian war.

PHLIUS in the age of Xenophon contained more than 5000 citizens; consequently more than 20,600 free inhabitants. Add half the number of slaves, and the total population of Phlius will be 31,000. The collective population of these states will be near 139,000<sup>m</sup>, upon an area of 783 square English miles, or 178 persons to each square mile.

The circumstances of CORINTH were very different from those of the agricultural communities of Arcadia or Achaia. Corinth, like Athens, subsisted by commerce. The Corinth-

<sup>1</sup> *Achaia Sicyon* and *Phlius* contained collectively 783 square English miles. Of these 132 might belong to Sicyon and Phlius, and 651 to Achaia.

<sup>m</sup> <i>Achaia</i> . . . . .	61,800
<i>Sicyon</i> . . . . .	46,160
<i>Phlius</i> . . . . .	31,000
	<hr/>
	138,960

ians, deriving a great capital from commerce, and possessing a naval force, were consequently enabled to import supplies of corn from foreign countries. Hence they maintained a great population upon a narrow extent of soil. The surface of the territory of Corinth did not exceed 248 square English miles<sup>n</sup>; the soil was not fertile; and yet the total population of the Corinthian state cannot be computed at less than 100,000 persons. The Corinthians had 5000 heavy-armed and as many light-armed soldiers at Plataea, and at the same time a naval force at Mycale, where their services were conspicuous. The rowers in the triremes might be partly composed of slaves; the 5000 light-armed troops might possibly be slaves. But the 5000 *hoplitæ* were citizens, or at least freemen; and a considerable number of these must also have been required at Mycale. If we assume only 2000 for that service, it will appear, without computing the light-armed troops at all, that 7000 men exclusive of the slaves were employed. Taking these at three-fourths of the whole military population, we obtain 9300 as the free male inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 60, and about 44,000 persons as the total number of free inhabitants. To these are to be added 60,000 slaves: for a passage of Athenæus, when corrected, renders it probable that the Corinthians possessed this number. The city of Corinth was forty stadia in circumference, extending in a square form to the north of the Acrocorinthus, which overlooked and defended it on the south. But the mountain itself was enclosed within a wall, and the whole circuit, including the Acrocorinthus, was about 85 stadia. We may conjecture that this space enclosed a population of from 70,000 to 80,000, and that the remaining 20,000 or 30,000 were distributed through the country. Comparing the extent of Athens and of Thebes, which were circular, and therefore contained the largest space within the given limits, we may assign to Corinth itself full 50,000 inhabitants. The space enclosed by the wall surrounding the Acrocorinthus might

<sup>n</sup> The distances from Corinth to its frontiers, measured in direct distance from the city, in English miles are nearly these: To the river *Nemea*, which divided Corinthia from the lands of Sicyon and Phlius  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles. In the direction of *Epidaurus*  $13\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Beyond the

Isthmus towards *Megara* 12 miles. And Corinth was only  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles from *Cleonæ*, which stood beyond the frontier, towards Argos. The surface contained within these limits, calculated upon Arrow-smith's map, gives an area of 248 English square miles.

contain half that number. Corinth probably did not much decline in numbers for a considerable period; and 100,000 persons, or near that number, may be taken as the population of this state from the Persian war to the death of Alexander.

The territory of ARGOS was bounded on the west by Arcadia. It extended from north to south, from the borders of Corinthia near Cleonæ to the borders of Cynuria, in direct distance about 24 English miles. Lessa was the boundary towards Epidaurus; and from the frontiers of Arcadia on the west to Lessa on the east the direct distance was near 28 English miles. From Lessa the frontier ran southwards between Asinē and Trœzen, and met the Argolic bay four or five miles below Asinē. These limits give about 524 square English miles for the territory of Argos. Within this space the authority of the Argives was supreme. They had gradually expelled or subjected the inhabitants of the towns within this district, some of whom remained in the country with the name of *periæci*.

This state, the most powerful in Peloponnesus next to Lacedæmon, equalled Athens in the number of its citizens. We collect this from a remark of Lysias. That remark appears to have been made about B.C. 402, soon after the expulsion of the Thirty, before the Athenians had recovered their numbers after their recent losses, and we must compute their citizens at a reduced amount°. We may estimate, however, the Argive citizens to have been at least 16,000 at the period of which Lysias speaks. This number is not inconsistent with the force of Argos as it was displayed in the war with Lacedæmon in the reign of Cleomenes, about a century before. In that war the loss of the Argives amounted to 6000 men; and

° The oration was composed upon the return of the people from Piræus [B.C. 403], upon the occasion of a proposal to limit the right of voting to those who possessed landed property. The numbers of the citizens, which had risen to 20,000 during some periods of the war, had been reduced. At Ægospotami out of 180 ships only 9 or 12 escaped. Isocrates rhetorically augments the loss to 200. But of the crews of these 168 or 170 ships the Athenian citizens were put to death. Æschines affirms that the Thirty put to death 1500 citizens. It appears from

Dionysius p. 526 that, if the measure had been adopted, nearly 5000 citizens would have been disfranchised. But the proportion of these to the rest must have been great. Aristotle Rep. V. 2, 8 remarks that in this war the proportion of the better class to the others became diminished. In B.C. 322 those citizens who were not worth 2000 *drachmæ* were 12 to 9. We may conjecture then, that those who had no landed property in B.C. 402 would be near a third of the whole number. This would suppose the citizens at this period reduced to 15,000 or 16,000.



yet the state, though weakened, was not overwhelmed by that calamity. Lysias moreover is confirmed by Xenophon, who records that the Argives in B. C. 394 sent 7000 *hoplitæ* to the battle of Corinth. This amount, compared with the contingents of Athens and Bœotia on the same occasion, renders it probable that Argos might contain 16,000 citizens. But 16,000 citizens will give a total free population of 66,000. To these are to be added the slaves, the inhabitants of *Cleonæ*, and the *periæci* who were distributed through the country. The Argives possessed a body of slaves of the intermediate class between domestic slaves and freemen, perhaps conquered inhabitants of the country reduced to servitude. As this class of slaves was often more numerous in proportion to the free than others, we may compute the slaves, together with the *periæci* and the Cleonæans, as at least two-thirds of the number of the Argives themselves; and the aggregate population will be 110,000 persons for Argos and its territory; nearly 210 to the square mile.

Epidaurus Trœzen and Hermione, with the little state of Haliæ, inhabited a territory somewhat less than the domain of Argos<sup>p</sup>. At the time of the Persian war the force of Epidaurus and Trœzen appears to have been nearly equal. The Trœzenians sent 1000 *hoplitæ* to Plataea and five ships to Salamis, and their services at Mycale are noticed. Epidaurus sent only 800 *hoplitæ*, but then the Epidaurians had 10 ships at Salamis. Their light-armed troops were probably composed of citizens<sup>q</sup>. Adding these, and computing that only one-fourth remained at home, we may estimate each of these states at near 3500 citizens. Hermione was less. This state supplied only 300 *hoplitæ* and three ships, about a third of the force of Epidaurus; and we may compute that Hermione had

<sup>p</sup> The province of *Argolis* contained collectively about 1307 square English miles. See p. 270. This area may be thus distributed:

	Square miles.
Corinth .....	248
Argos .....	524
Cynuria .....	60
Epidaurus, Trœzen, } Hermione, Haliæ ... }	475
	<hr/> 1307

<sup>q</sup> Some have imagined that all the

light troops which served at Plataea were nothing more than armed slaves. This appears very doubtful. The *Helots* were slaves of a peculiar class, and it is admitted that these on all occasions bore arms with their masters. The *Pænestæ* of Thessaly, being slaves of the same class, might do the same. But it is not probable that the ordinary domestic slaves, who abounded in every Grecian state, and were acquired by purchase, composed the light-armed troops of the Grecian armies.

1000 citizens. The little state of *Haliæ*, which was situated near Hermione and Trœzen, was independent in the time of Thucydides and Xenophon. Perhaps it was equal in that age to Hermione. We may therefore assume that the four states contained collectively at least 8500 citizens. This amount did not diminish in the subsequent period. For in B. C. 394 Epidaurus, Trœzen, Hermione, and Haliæ supplied 3000 *hoplitæ* at the battle of Corinth. Comparing this amount with the contingents of the other states, we may conclude it little more than a third of the whole number of citizens. If these states had 8500 citizens, they would have a total free population of 35,000; and half that number of slaves would give 52,500 for the total number of inhabitants; a proportion of 100 persons to the square mile.

ELIS was inhabited by the Eleans in the north, the Triphylians in the south, and the Pisatæ in the middle of the country. The Eleans had subjected the other two, and governed them under the name of *περιοικίδας πόλεις*. The Eleans themselves were not collected into a city till after the Persian war. The inhabitants of this province enjoyed the privilege during many ages of an exemption from the ravages of war; and the Olympic festival occasioned a resort to Elis once in four years of a vast multitude of strangers, whose expenditure must have brought a great accession of wealth into the province. These advantages, together with that of a fertile soil, contributed to make Elis rich and populous beyond any other province of Peloponnesus.

The populousness of this province is confirmed by the number of towns which it contained. We have no means of computing its inhabitants from its military population, because, from the habits of this state, the military strength does not seem to have been fully displayed in any Elean force recorded by historians. But Polybius attests that Elis was more populous than any other district of Peloponnesus, and we may form a conjecture of the probable number of inhabitants by comparing it with other provinces.

The rate of population in *Corinthia* appeared to be 404 persons to the square mile; in the territories of Argos, 210; and in the whole of Argolis, 201. If we take the lowest of these three amounts as the proportion of Elis, and assume 200

persons to the square mile, we obtain 186,000 for the population; and as from the wealth of Elis it may be conjectured that the slaves would be at least equal in number to the free, this amount would give 93,000 free persons and as many slaves. But in 93,000 free inhabitants the males above the age of 20, on the proportion formerly shewn, of 4897 in 20,160, would be about 22,570. This number, 22,570, will consequently represent the citizens, or the free male adults, in Elis itself and in the several towns of Triphylia and Pisatis.

The preceding enquiry has led us to the conclusion that the states of Peloponnesus collectively contained 128,000 citizens, near 528,000 free inhabitants, and a total population of nearly 1,050,000 persons. These numbers of course are only assumed as probabilities; but I believe that they are within the truth, and that the real numbers exceeded the amounts here given rather than fell below them<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> The numbers will be these, upon the proportion of 4897 citizens or free male adults in 20,160 free persons.

	Citizens.	Free inhabitants.	Total population.
<i>Laconia and Messenia</i> . . . .	24,044	98,985	300,000
<i>Arcadia</i> . . . . .	26,198	107,856	161,750
<i>Achaia</i> . . . . .	10,004	41,186	61,800
<i>Sicyon</i> . . . . .	6,003	24,716	46,160
<i>Phlius</i> . . . . .	5,004	20,603	31,000
<i>Corinth</i> . . . . .	9,803	40,360	100,360
<i>Argos</i> . . . . .	16,013	65,923	110,000
<i>Epidaurus, &amp;c.</i> . . . .	8,520	35,078	52,500
<i>Elis</i> . . . . .	22,575	92,937	186,000
	128,164	527,644	1,049,570

It is to be observed, 1 *Laconia* and *Messenia*, after the independence of the latter, probably contained more free inhabitants than the amount here given. The inhabitants of Methone and of Asine are included in the total population, but I have not attempted to compute them in the first and second columns. 2 At *Sicyon*, all the males from 18 to 60 being taken at 10,634, all the males (including slaves) above the age of twenty would be 11,214, and, the citizens being taken at 6000, the free population will be little more than the slaves, or only in the proportion of 24 to 21. Perhaps the citizens are rated too low. 3 The free military population of *Corinth* being 9300, the males above the age of twenty will be 9803.

This number includes the μέτοικοι. 4 The numbers assigned in the two first columns to *Argos* do not include the περίοικοι or the *Cleonæans*; these are comprehended in the total population. On the area of Peloponnesus, 1,049,570 inhabitants would give 135 persons, nearly, to each square mile.

We may form a rough and general estimate of the total population of Greece in this manner. If we assume the population collectively taken of *Acarnania*, *Ætolia*, *Phocis*, *Doris*, *Locris*, of *Eubœa* and the islands, to be at the rate of *Laconia*, and the slaves at half the number of the free; and if again we assume the population of *Thessaly* and the adjacent districts to be at the rate of *Elis*, and the slaves



The evils of the political system among the ancient republics have been forcibly urged by some writers. Those evils are not to be denied. And yet the people continued to exist, and even to flourish, under all their disadvantages. We collect from Polybius that the population of Peloponnesus had not much, if at all, declined in the days of the Achæan League, and during the continuance of Grecian independence. The period from Pericles to Demetrius Phalereus, about 120 years, was filled with incessant and complicated wars, undertaken partly to put down a formidable rival, partly for conquest, partly to maintain the balance of power against some preponderating state. In this period occurred the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthian, the two Theban wars of 17 years continuance, the war of the allies, the Phocian war, the wars with Philip. Athens moreover was exposed to the inconveniences of an ill-balanced democracy. And yet, instead of sinking under this pressure, this republic in the days of Demetrius Phalereus is found with as large a population, and a trade as extensive, as it possessed in the days of Pericles. But if we carry our views downward to a later period, and survey the condition of Greece under the Roman empire, what

equal to the free; and if we take a larger proportion of inhabitants for *Megara* and *Corcyra* (for *Megara* at the battle of Platæa had 3000 ὄπλιται and

3000 ψιλοί, and *Corcyra* in B.C. 435 had a fleet of 120 triremes), we shall obtain the following numbers:

	Citizens.	Total inhab.
<i>Phocis</i> , &c. $6557 \times 100 \dots$	106,180	655,700
<i>Thessaly</i> , &c. $5674 \times 200 \dots$	137,880	1,134,800
<i>Megaris</i> } (say) $\dots\dots\dots$	18,000	150,000
<i>Corcyra</i> }		
	262,060	1,940,500
<i>Peloponnesus</i> $\dots\dots\dots$	128,164	1,049,570
<i>Attica</i> $\dots\dots\dots$	31,000	527,660
<i>Bæotia</i> $\dots\dots\dots$	21,000	135,000
	442,224	3,652,730

According to Justin IX. 5 the contingents of troops to be supplied to *Philip* from all the states of Greece (except Lacedæmon) amounted to 215,000 men. Allowing 18,000 for the free male adult population of all Laconia in B.C. 336, we have about 424,000 for the citizens, or rather the free male inhabitants above the age of twenty (since I have included the Athenian μέτοικοι), in all the rest of

Greece; so that this contingent, 215,000, would be equal to something more than half the number of the citizens.

Again, in B.C. 324 the exiles amounted to more than 20,000. We are not informed from what states these were exiles; but if from all the provinces here computed, they would amount to 1 in 22 as compared with the total number of free male adults.

do we find to be the aspect of things? The turbulence of the old times has now ceased. Are the provinces, therefore, of Greece populous and flourishing? We may gather from Strabo, Dio, Pausanias, and other writers, some brief but emphatic hints of the actual condition of this celebrated people.

Eubœa, which contained in 378 more than 70 states, and which sent 3000 *hoplitæ* to the battle of Corinth, is thus described by Dio. "The space before the gates is wholly wild" and horribly disgraceful, as in the profoundest solitude, not "resembling the suburb of a city. Within the walls the greater part of the space is sown with corn or converted into pasture." He is describing the chief town of the island in the reign of Domitian or of Trajan. Of Bœotia Strabo remarks, that "Thebes scarcely retains the form of a tolerable village; and the other cities are analogous to this, except Tanagra and Thespiæ, for these hold together tolerably in comparison with Thebes." "Thespiæ and Tanagra," he observes in another place, "alone subsist. Of the others the ruins and the names alone remain." Thebes in the time of Dio still continued desolate. Thessaly in the time of Trajan was "desolate," Arcadia "depopulated." The desolation of Arcadia in the reign of Augustus is strongly marked by Strabo. "Megalopolis," he observes, "is in the state described by the comic poet; *The great city is a great solitude.*" To the same purpose Pausanias in the age of the Antonines: "Megalopolis has been deprived of all her ornaments and ancient opulence."

Laconia was favoured by Augustus, who erected 24 towns into an independent community, and yet Strabo found only 30 towns in all Laconia. Acarnania and Ætolia were not very prosperous. "Augustus," says Strabo, "seeing the cities of Acarnania utterly deserted, collected the people into one town, which he named Nicopolis. The desolate condition," he adds, "of Ætolia and Acarnania is favourable to the breeding of horses not less than that of Thessaly."

Diodorus in the reign of Augustus mentions generally the solitude of the cities of Greece. But Plutarch a century and a half later sufficiently paints the general depopulation of all Greece in a single remark. "Of that common scarcity of men which the former seditions and wars had produced, the

“ largest share has fallen upon Greece ; and at this time the whole of Greece could scarcely supply 3000 *hoplitæ*, the number which the single city of Megara sent to Platæa.” It is needless to observe that the wars of which Plutarch speaks were Roman wars, and not wars carried on in the times of Grecian independence. But we may hesitate in ascribing this decay to the operation of war at all. For from the close of the civil war B.C. 30 to the time of Trajan (when Plutarch flourished), a space of 130 years, Greece had enjoyed the advantages of a profound peace. The civil wars, which lasted more than 20 years, might have originally wasted the country, but very different causes must have operated to keep it desolate during so long a period of tranquillity. Polybius, writing after the extinction of Grecian independence, remarks the decay of population, and ascribes it to other causes than either war or pestilence.



# FASTI HELLENICI.

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## PART THE THIRD.

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THE third division commences at the last year of Ol. 124, and the Tables contain the annals of 293 years and three or four months, from the entrance of *Pyrrhus* into Italy in the spring of the year 280, to the death of *Augustus* in August of the second year of the 198th Olympiad. In the 124th Olympiad the Achæan League began, and the kingdom of Pergamus was founded. After the death of *Seleucus* at the close of that Olympiad, the kingdoms of Bithynia Pontus and Cappadocia acquired independence. These four kingdoms of Asia Minor, together with the dynasties which ruled in Syria and in Egypt, are described in this third part of the *Fasti Hellenici*.

The complete series of Athenian archons terminates at the year 292. Three archons who belong to Ol. 125 are preserved to us. But between that Olympiad and the death of *Augustus* only five archons remain. The Tables however of this third period exhibit the Roman consuls, and the Achæan Ætolian and Thessalian prætors.

The literature of this period includes the successions in the four schools of philosophy at Athens, and the critics, grammarians, poets, and historians, who flourished within it at Alexandria and in the Greek cities of Asia, or in the Greek cities of the West and at Rome. The Roman writers of the best times come within this period, and these authors and their works are recorded in the tables.

280	<p>U. C. Varr. 474 Ol. 125 <i>P. Lævinus Ti. Coruncanus</i> coss.  Pyrrhus repulses the consul Lævinus.  Duris the historian and his brother Lynceus, a grammarian, disciples of Theophrastus, flourished. Cineas the orator accompanied Pyrrhus into Italy. He had been the disciple of Demosthenes. Aristarchus of Samos made observations in the year 280. Sotades of Maronea, the poet, flourished. His acts are marked in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Lysimachus, within B.C. 285—281. He was afterwards put to death by order of Philadelphus.  Gorgias archon at Athens.</p>
279	<p>475 <i>P. Sulpicius Saberrio P. Decius Mus.</i> The war with Pyrrhus continues with doubtful event.  In the beginning of 279, the close of U. C. Varr. 474, Cn. Domitius the first plebeian censor found the number of Roman citizens to be 278,222.  Timon Phliasius the disciple of Stilpo and of Pyrrho flourished in the reign of Philadelphus, and lived to near 90. He taught Aratus.  Berosus lived in the time of Alexander, wrote before Manetho, and dedicated to Antiochus, perhaps about 280, 42 or 43 years after the death of Alexander.  Anaxicrates archon at Athens.</p>
278	<p>476 <i>C. Fabricius Luscinus II Q. Æmilius Papus II.</i>  Pyrrhus quitted Italy at the end of summer 278.  Homerus Sositheus Philiscus flourished. Sosiphanes and Dionysides tragic poets flourished.  Democles archon.</p>
277	<p>477 <i>P. Corn. Rufinus II C. Jun. Brutus Bubulcus II.</i>  Metrodorus the Epicurean died æt. 53.  Colotes and Idomeneus were disciples of Epicurus.</p>
276	<p>478 Ol. 126 <i>Q. Fabius Gurges II C. Genucius Clepsina</i> coss.</p>
275	<p>479 <i>M' Curius Dentatus II L. Corn. Lentulus.</i> Pyrrhus returned to Italy in the spring, and encountered Curius Dentatus the consul. Hiero prætor of Syracuse.  Birth of Eratosthenes.</p>
274	<p>480 <i>M' Curius Dentatus III Ser. Corn. Merenda.</i> Pyrrhus quits Italy, 6 years after his first arrival in the spring of 280.  Birth of Euphorion.</p>
273	<p>481 <i>C. Fab. Dorso Licinus C. Claudius Canina II.</i> Embassy of Ptolemy Philadelphus to Rome. The colonies Posidonia and Cosa founded.  Death of Polemo.</p>

272	482 Ol. 127 <i>L. Papirius Cursor II Sp. Carvilius Maximus II.</i> Death of Pyrrhus. War with Tarentum. Aratus flourished. Theocritus was contemporary.
271	483 <i>C. Quintius Claudius L. Genucius Clepsina.</i> A Campanian legion, which had occupied Rhegium, is captured. All the offenders are put to death. Pytharatus archon. Zenodotus of Ephesus flourished. Birth of Aratus of Sicyon.
270	484 <i>C. Genucius Clepsina Cn. Corn. Blasio.</i> Hiero becomes king of Syracuse. Death of Epicurus æt. 72. Lyco succeeds Strato.
269	485 <i>Q. Ogulnius Gallus C. Fabius Pictor.</i> War with the Picentes. Silver money first used at Rome. Antagoras flourished with Aratus at the court of Antigonus.
268	486 Ol. 128 <i>P. Sempronius Sophus Ap. Claudius Rufus.</i> The conquest of the Picene district is completed. The colonies Ariminum and Beneventum are founded. Manetho was already known in the reign of Soter: but his <i>Ægyptiaca</i> were composed after the work of Berosus, in the reign of Philadelphus.
267	487 <i>M. Atilius Regulus L. Julius Libo.</i> The Sallentines and Brundusians conquered.
266	488 <i>N. Fabius Pictor D. Junius Pera</i> coss.
265	489 <i>Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges III L. Mamilius Vitulus.</i> End of the History of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Timæus finished at the same period.
264	490 Ol. 129 <i>Ap. Claudius Caudex M. Fulvius Flaccus.</i> First Punic war. Gladiators are first exhibited. Diognetus archon. The Parian Marble ended with this date. The History of Timæus ends, where the <i>Preparation</i> of Polybius begins. Timæus was banished from Sicily by Agathocles, and passed his exile at Athens, where he had lived 50 years when he wrote his 34th book. He lived to the age of 96 years.
263	491 <i>M' Valerius Maximus M' Otacilius Crassus.</i> Hiero makes peace with the Romans. Death of Zeno. Cleanthes succeeds him. Dionysius of Heraclea, or <i>Metathemenus</i> , who in his old age deserted the sect of Zeno, probably survived him.
262	492 <i>L. Postumius Megellus Q. Mamilius Vitulus.</i> The two consuls besiege Agrigentum for about 7 months. The city surrenders about December. Birth of Antigonus Doson. Death of Philemon the comic poet æt. 97. Timosthenes of Rhodes flourished in the reign of Philadelphus.



261	493 <i>L. Valerius Flaccus T. Otacilius Crassus</i> coss.
260	494 Ol. 130 <i>Cn. Corn. Scipio Asina C. Duilius</i> . The Romans first prepare a fleet. Duilius gains a naval victory. Persæus the disciple of Zeno flourished.
259	495 <i>L. Cornelius Scipio C. Aquillius Florus</i> . Scipio invades Corsica and Sardinia. (Death of Zeno, according to Laertius.) Lycophron completed the <i>Alexandra</i> after the first naval victories of the Romans. He probably flourished B. C. 280—250 in a period of 30 years.
258	496 <i>A. Atilius Calatinus C. Sulpicius Paternulus</i> . Erasistratus the physician is still living according to Eusebius. He was already in reputation at least 40 years before this period.
257	497 <i>C. Atilius Regulus Cn. Corn. Blasio II</i> coss.
256	498 Ol. 131 <i>L. Manlius Vulso Longus Q. Cædicius</i> . <i>In Cædicii locum suffectus M. Atilius Regulus II</i> . The consuls carry on the war in Africa. Regulus remains in Africa. Callimachus flourished. He was heard by Aristophanes the grammarian, and might live to B. C. 230. Eratosthenes was also the disciple of Callimachus.
255	499 <i>Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior M. Æmilius Paullus</i> . Defeat and capture of Regulus. The consuls after gaining a naval victory lose their fleet by shipwreck. Marcus first Achæan prætor.
254	500 <i>Cn. Corn. Scipio Asina II A. Atilius Calatinus II</i> . The Romans in 3 months complete another fleet of 220 ships. Panormus surrenders to the Romans.
253	501 <i>Cn. Servilius Cæpio C. Sempronius Blaesus</i> . The consuls sail to Africa. In their return they encounter a storm, and the senate determines to abstain from naval operations.
252	502 Ol. 132 <i>C. Aurelius Cotta P. Servilius Geminus</i> . The consuls carry on the war in Sicily. Birth of Philopœmen.
251	503 <i>L. Cæcilius Metellus C. Furius Pacilus</i> . The consuls are in Sicily in this campaign. Aratus delivers Sicyon, which had now been for 50 years under the dominion of tyrants. Sosibius of Laconia flourished in the reign of Philadelphus.

250	<p>504 <i>C. Atilius Regulus II L. Manlius Vulso II.</i> The Romans again prepare a fleet, and the proconsul Metellus gains a victory. Siege of Lilybæum. Triumph of Metellus.</p> <p>Arsaces founds the Parthian monarchy.</p> <p>Hieronymus Rhodius flourished after Epicurus, and was contemporary with Timon Phliasius. Hieronymus was the rival of Lyco.</p>
249	<p>505 <i>P. Claudius Pulcher L. Junius Pullus.</i> The consul Claudius is defeated in a sea-fight by the Carthaginians, and the Romans again abandon the sea.</p> <p>Heraclitus of Halicarnassus and Philostephanus of Cyrene were the companions of Callimachus, and flourished at this time.</p>
248	<p>506 Ol. 133 <i>C. Aurelius Cotta II P. Servilius Geminus II</i> coss.</p>
247	<p>507 <i>L. Cæcilius Metellus II N. Fabius Buteo.</i> Hamilcar Barcas is appointed general of the Carthaginians. Birth of Hannibal.</p> <p>Nymphis of Heraclea brought his <i>History of Alexander and his successors</i> to the accession of the third Ptolemy B. C. 247. The <i>History of Heraclea</i> ended at B. C. 281.</p>
246	<p>508 <i>M' Otacilius Crassus II M. Fabius Licinus.</i></p> <p>Euphantus of Olynthus wrote history after B. C. 246, and was the preceptor of Antigonus Doson, who was now 16 years of age.</p>
245	<p>509 <i>M. Fabius Buteo C. Atilius Bulbus</i> coss.</p>
244	<p>510 Ol. 134 <i>A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus C. Sempronius Blæsus II</i> coss.</p>
243	<p>511 <i>C. Fundanius Fundulus C. Sulpicius Gallus.</i> The consul Fundanius opposes Barcas in Sicily.</p> <p>Aratus prætor the second time adds Corinth to the Achæan League, eight years after the liberation of Sicyon.</p> <p>Persæus the philosopher is at Corinth at its liberation by Aratus.</p>
242	<p>512 <i>C. Lutatius Catulus A. Postumius Albinus.</i> The Romans again prepare a fleet.</p>
241	<p>513 <i>A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus II Q. Lutatius Cerco.</i> Victory of Catulus at the Ægates March 10. Peace granted to the Carthaginians after a war of 24 years. War with the Falisci. Triumph of Catulus Octob. 6.</p> <p>Lacydes succeeds Arcesilaus. Lysimachus, the disciple of Theodorus, or of Theophrastus, lived in the time of Attalus, who began to reign in 241. Neanthes of Cyzicus was contem-</p>

	porary with Lysimachus, and wrote the <i>History of Attalus</i> . He was the disciple of Philiscus who had heard Isocrates. Lysimachus therefore and Neanthes are both advanced in age at this period.
240	514 Ol. 135 <i>C. Claudius Centho M. Sempronius Tuditanus</i> . Nymphis of Heraclea is an ambassador soon after the death of Ariobarzanes king of Pontus, who died about the year 240. Livius began to exhibit dramas at Rome.
239	515 <i>C. Mamilius Turrinus Q. Valerius Falto</i> . Birth of Ennius.
238	516 <i>Ti. Sempronius Gracchus P. Valerius Falto</i> . Hamilcar is sent into Spain, after having ended the African war. War with the Boii and Ligurians.
237	517 <i>L. Corn. Lentulus Caudinus Q. Fulvius Flaccus</i> . Hiero visits Rome. War with the Boii is continued.
236	518 Ol. 136 <i>P. Corn. Lentulus Caudinus C. Licinius Varus</i> . An irruption of the Transalpine Gauls into Italy 45 years after a former irruption in B. C. 282. Ister the disciple of Callimachus flourished.
235	519 <i>T. Manlius Torquatus C. Atilius Bulbus II</i> . Sardinia is conquered. The temple of Janus is shut for the second time. Nævius the dramatic poet flourished.
234	520 <i>L. Postumius Albinus Sp. Carvilius Maximus</i> . Sardinia rebelled at the instigation of the Carthaginians. Birth of Cato.
233	521 <i>Q. Fab. Maximus Verrucosus M' Pomponius Matho</i> . War in Sardinia and Liguria.
232	522 Ol. 137 <i>M. Æmilius Lepidus M. I'oblicius Malleolus</i> . Agrarian law of C. Flaminius.
231	523 <i>M. Pomponius Matho C. Papirius Maso</i> . Matho reduces Sardinia, and Papirius Corsica. First divorce at Rome, the divorce of Sp. Carvilius.
230	524 <i>M. Æmilius Barbula M. Junius Pera</i> . Macho the comic poet flourished at Alexandria.
229	525 <i>L. Postumius Albinus II Cn. Fulvius Centumalus</i> . The consuls invade Illyricum. Hasdrubal succeeds Hamilcar in Spain. Euphantus of Olynthus flourished.



228	526 Ol. 138 <i>Sp. Carvilius Maximus II Q. Fab. Maximus Ver- rucosus II.</i> The consul Postumius had wintered in Illyricum. Peace is made in the spring. First Roman embassy to Greece, after the treaty concluded with Teuta queen of Illyria. Naval triumph of Fulvius over the Illyrians June 22.
227	527 <i>P. Valerius Flaccus M. Atilius Regulus</i> coss.
226	528 <i>M. Valerius Messalla L. Apustius Fullo.</i> Death of Lyco. Aristo Ceus succeeds.
225	529 <i>L. Æmilius Papus C. Atilius Regulus.</i> The Gallic war, in which the consul Regulus is slain, but Æmilius is victorious. Antigonus Carystius lived near the times of Pyrrho and of Timon Phliasius. He composed the life of Lyco, who died in 226, and wrote after Callimachus, whom he quotes. Q. Fabius Pictor the historian served in the Gallic war, with whom L. Cincius Alimentus was contemporary, although Fa- bius wrote before Cincius.
224	530 Ol. 139 <i>T. Manlius Torquatus II Q. Fulvius Flaccus II.</i> Triumph of Æmilius over the Gauls March 12.
223	531 <i>C. Flaminius P. Furius Philus.</i> The consuls are sent against the Gauls. Victory of Flaminius over the Insubres. Eratosthenes is now about 52 years of age.
222	532 <i>Cn. Corn. Scipio Calvus M. Claudius Marcellus.</i> Triumph of Flaminius over the Gauls and Ligurians March 10. Marcellus the consul defeats the Insubres and obtains the spolia opima by slaying Viridomarus in single combat. Battle of Sellasia, in which Cleomenes is defeated by An- tigonus. Rhianus is contemporary with Eratosthenes.
221	533 <i>P. Corn. Scipio Asina M. Minucius Rufus.</i> Triumph of Marcellus over the Galli Insubres and Germani March 1. War in Istria. Hannibal succeeds Hasdrubal in Spain. Timoxenus Achæan prætor, from May. Ariston Ætolian prætor, from the autumn. Euphorion was in the service of Antiochus as librarian. He is now 51 years of age. Archimedes flourished, being now 66 years old. The poet Archimelus of Athens flourished.
220	534 Ol. 140 <i>L. Veturius Philo C. Lutatius Catulus.</i> Aratus Achæan prætor from May. He is defeated at Ca- phyæ. The Social war begins. Scopas Ætolian prætor from autumn. The history of Aratus ends at Ol. 139. 4; the history of Po-

	<p>lybius begins at Ol. 140. 1 with the Social war in Greece between Philip and the Ætolians, the war for Coele Syria between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator, and the second Punic war, between Hannibal and the Romans.</p>
219	<p>535 <i>M. Livius Salinator L. Æmilius Paullus</i>. The consul Æmilius invades Illyricum in the spring. Hannibal in the same spring setting forth besieged Saguntum, which he took after a siege of 8 months, and then wintered at Carthago Nova. Demetrius Pharius is conquered by the consul Æmilius, who returns to Rome at the end of summer.</p> <p>Aratus the younger is Achæan prætor in May, Dorimachus Ætolian prætor in autumn. War between Rhodes and Byzantium.</p> <p>Phylarchus was contemporary with Aratus. He favoured Cleomenes, and was unjust to Aratus. The 28 books of Phylarchus began in Ol. 126. 4 and ended in Ol. 139. 4, embracing 52 or 53 years.</p> <p>Birth of Pacuvius.</p>
218	<p>536 <i>P. Cornelius Scipio Ti. Sempronius Longus</i>. Hannibal began his march in the beginning of summer, reached Italy in 5 months, and gained the battles of Ticinus and Trebia towards the end of the year, in December.</p> <p>Eperatus Achæan prætor from May, Agetas Ætolian prætor from autumn.</p> <p>Samius the poet began to be distinguished. He was put to death by Philip in 184.</p> <p>L. Cincius Alimentus described the passage of Hannibal into Italy.</p>
217	<p>537 <i>Cn. Servilius Geminus C. Flaminius II</i>. Hannibal passes through the marshes into Etruria. He gains the battle of Thrasymene, and winters in Daunia.</p> <p>Aratus Achæan prætor from May. Third campaign of the Social war. Peace concluded. Agelaus Ætolian prætor, after the peace, from the autumn.</p> <p>Mnesiptolemus the historian is in favour with Antiochus. Epinicus the comic poet is contemporary.</p> <p>Cato is 17 years of age.</p>
216	<p>538 Ol. 141 <i>C. Terentius Varro L. Æmilius Paullus II</i>. Hannibal is victorious at Cannæ in the summer of this year, and winters at Capua.</p> <p>Timoxenus Achæan prætor, from May. Death of Hiero at the close of 216. He survived his son Gelon, who outlived the battle of Cannæ.</p> <p>Fabius Pictor the historian, after the battle of Cannæ, is sent ambassador to Delphi.</p>

215	<p>539 <i>C. Postumius Albinus III Ti. Sempronius Gracchus</i>. <i>Post Postumii mortem Fabius Maximus III</i>. The consuls at this period enter upon office in March. Treaty of Philip with Hannibal.</p> <p>Lacydes, who succeeded Arcesilaus in the Academy in 241, is succeeded by Evander in 215.</p>
214	<p>540 <i>Q. Fab. Max. Verrucosus IV M. Claudius Marcellus III</i>. The consul Marcellus is sent into Sicily and besieges Syracuse.</p> <p>Eratosthenes flourished. He is now more than 60 years of age, and librarian at Alexandria. Archimedes is about 12 years older than Eratosthenes.</p>
213	<p>541 <i>Q. Fabius Maximus Ti. Sempronius Gracchus II</i>. Marcellus remains in Sicily. Hannibal passes the summer near Tarentum. Death of Aratus.</p> <p>Birth of Carneades of Cyrene.</p>
212	<p>542 Ol. 142 <i>Q. Fulvius Flaccus III Ap. Claudius Pulcher</i>. Syracuse taken in the autumn. The two Scipios are slain in Spain.</p> <p>Death of Archimedes at the age of 75 years.</p>
211	<p>543 <i>Cn. Fulvius Centumalus P. Sulpicius Galba</i>. The Romans recover Capua. Scipio at the age of 24 is sent into Spain towards the end of summer. Triumph of Marcellus in the Alban mount. A treaty is made between the Ætolians and the Romans, Scopas being the Ætolian prætor from autumn 211.</p>
210	<p>544 <i>M. Valerius Lævinus M. Claudius Marcellus IV</i>. Agrigentum is delivered to Lævinus towards the end of the year; at the same time Carthago Nova is taken by Scipio.</p>
209	<p>545 <i>Q. Fab. Max. Verrucosus V Q. Fulvius Flaccus IV</i>. The Romans at this time have 30 colonies. The consul Fabius recovers Tarentum. Pyrrhias Ætolian prætor, from the autumn.</p>
208	<p>546 Ol. 143 <i>M. Claudius Marcellus V T. Quinctius Crispinus</i>. Marcellus slain, in the eleventh year of the war. Cycliadas Achæan prætor, from May. Philip and the Achæans carry on war in Greece against Machanidas and the Ætolians, who were aided by king Attalus and the Romans under Sulpicius.</p>
207	<p>547 <i>C. Claudius Nero M. Livius Salinator II</i>. Hasdrubal is defeated and slain by the consuls. Campaign of king Attalus and P. Sulpicius in Greece. Nicias Achæan prætor from May.</p> <p>Death of Chrysippus, who is succeeded by Zeno of Tarsus.</p>
206	<p>548 <i>Q. Cæcilius Metellus L. Veturius Philo</i>. Scipio makes a league with Syphax king of the Masæsyli, an African people in the western part of Numidia.</p>



205	<p>549 <i>P. Corn. Scipio P. Licinius Crassus Dives</i>. Scipio passes into Sicily.</p> <p>Sotion of Alexandria wrote after the death of Chrysippus, and before the death of the 6th Ptolemy.</p>
204	<p>550 Ol. 144 <i>M. Corn. Cethegus P. Sempronius Tuditanus</i>. Scipio having wintered in Sicily passes into Africa.</p> <p>Cato, quæstor, brings Ennius to Rome from Sardinia.</p>
203	<p>551 <i>Cn. Servilius Cæpio C. Servilius</i>. Syphax is defeated and taken by Lælius and Masinissa June 24. Hannibal leaves Italy. Death of Fabius Maximus.</p> <p>Hermippus the disciple of Callimachus still wrote after B.C. 203.</p>
202	<p>552 <i>Ti. Claudius Nero M. Servilius Geminus</i>. Defeat of Hannibal at Zama. Scipio after his victory at Zama defeats Vermina in December.</p> <p>Lysippus Achæan prætor, from May.</p>
201	<p>553 <i>Cn. Corn. Lentulus P. Ælius Pætus</i>. Peace granted to the Carthaginians.</p> <p>Philopœmen Achæan prætor from May. Philip after a naval action at Chios in this year winters in Caria.</p> <p>Silenus Sosilus and Menodotus the historians flourished.</p> <p>The death of Nævius according to some accounts is in 201, according to others in 204.</p>
200	<p>554 Ol. 145 <i>P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus II C. Aurelius Cotta</i>. Macedonian war, a few months after the peace with Carthage.</p> <p>Attalus comes to Athens. Cycliadas Achæan prætor, from May, Damocritus Ætolian prætor, from the autumn.</p> <p>Aristophanes the grammarian flourished.</p>
199	<p>555 <i>L. Cornelius Lentulus P. Villius Tappulus</i>. Campaign of Sulpicius against Philip. The consul Villius succeeds Sulpicius in the command towards the end of the campaign, and winters at Coreyra.</p> <p>Polemo Periegeta is contemporary with Aristophanes the grammarian.</p>
198	<p>556 <i>T. Quinctius Flaminius Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus</i>. Villius is succeeded in the command by Flaminius early in the campaign. Flaminius winters in Phocis. Philip makes an alliance with Nabis, while Flaminius is still in winter quarters at Elatea, and Attalus at Ægina.</p> <p>Antiochus conquers Cœle-Syria.</p> <p>Phæneas Ætolian prætor, from the autumn.</p> <p>The historians Zeno and Antisthenes flourished.</p>

197	<p>557 <i>C. Corn. Cethegus Q. Minucius Rufus.</i> Six prætors are first created in this year. The proconsul Flamininus continues the war against Philip, whom he defeats at Cynoscephalæ in the autumn. After the victory he grants Philip a truce, and then concludes a peace, and winters at Athens.</p> <p>Alcæus of Messenia celebrated the victory of Titus at Cynoscephalæ, and the liberation of Greece in 196.</p>
196	<p>558 Ol. 146 <i>L. Furius Purpureo M. Claudius Marcellus.</i> The consuls are successful against the Insubres and the Boii. Hannibal joins Antiochus. Greece is declared free by Quinctius Flamininus, at the Isthmian games. From this period the Thessalians enjoy liberty, and are governed by annual magistrates till the death of Philip. Antiochus holds a conference at Lysimachia with the Roman ambassadors, and then winters at Antioch.</p> <p>Asclepiades of Myrlea, the disciple of Apollonius Rhodius, was at Alexandria in his youth, in the time of the fourth Ptolemy, and flourished in the reigns of Attalus I and Eumenes II.</p>
195	<p>559 <i>M. Porcius Cato L. Valerius Flaccus.</i> The consul Cato has Spain for his province. The proconsul Quinctius remains in command in Greece; and conquers the tyrant Nabis and grants him peace. He declares Argos free at the Nemean games.</p> <p>Aristænus Achæan prætor from May.</p> <p>Pausanias of Pheræ is the first prætor of the Thessalians, appointed in the second year of their independence.</p> <p>Ptolemy of Megalopolis governs Cyprus during the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes. He wrote the history of Ptolemy Philopator.</p>
194	<p>560 <i>P. Corn. Scipio Africanus II Ti. Sempronius Longus.</i> The proconsul Valerius Flaccus engages the Galli Insubres and the Boii at Milan. Flamininus quits Greece, and triumphs for three days.</p> <p>In this year the senators had separate seats at the Roman games.</p> <p>Amyntas of Pieria second Thessalian prætor.</p> <p>Death of Eratosthenes at the age of 80 or 82, or 81 complete. Apollonius Rhodius succeeds him as librarian at Alexandria.</p> <p>Birth of Terence.</p>
193	<p>561 <i>L. Cornelius Merula Q. Minucius Thermus.</i></p> <p>Æacides of Metropolis, third Thessalian prætor. The subjection of Thessaly to the Macedonian kings had subsisted 136 years, from the death of Alexander to the year 197 inclusive.</p> <p>Damocritus Ætolian prætor, from the autumn.</p>

192	<p>562 Ol. 147 <i>L. Quinctius Flaminius Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus</i>. The prætor Atilius is sent into Greece, and then Titus Quinctius with other ambassadors.</p> <p>Philopœmen (Achæan prætor from May) defeats Nabis, and, Nabis being slain by the Ætolians, Lacedæmon is added to the Achæan league.</p> <p>Epidromus of Larissa 4th Thessalian prætor for 8 months, then Eunomus for the remaining 4 months. Phæneas Ætolian prætor from the autumn.</p> <p>Antiochus, now 50 years of age, comes into Greece after the autumnal equinox, and winters at Chalcis.</p>
191	<p>563 <i>M. Acilius Glabrio P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica</i>. Antiochus moves from Chalcis into Acarnania in the beginning of spring. The consul Acilius enters Thessaly, and defeats him at Thermopylæ. After which the consul enters Ætolia, where Heraclæa is besieged and taken. Antiochus after a sea-fight with Eumenes and the Romans winters in Phrygia. The consul Cornelius engages and overthrows the Boii; for which he has a triumph. Eunomus of Larissa is again Thessalian prætor. Diophanes Achæan prætor, from May.</p> <p>Cato is military tribune at the battle of Thermopylæ.</p>
190	<p>564 <i>L. Corn. Scipio C. Lælius</i>. The consul Scipio grants a six months' truce to the Ætolians, passes into Asia, and defeats Antiochus towards the winter, near Magnesia. Meanwhile the proconsul Acilius triumphs for his victory gained at Thermopylæ in 191.</p> <p>Æacides of Metropolis is a second time prætor of the Thessalians in the 7th year of their independence. Nicander Ætolian prætor, from the autumn.</p> <p>Demetrius of Scepsis is a boy at this time. He was contemporary with Crates and Aristarchus.</p> <p>L. Cincius Alimentus is probably still writing in the year 190.</p>
189	<p>565 <i>Cn. Manlius Vulso M. Fulvius Nobilior</i>. The consul Fulvius carries on war in Ætolia. He besieges Ambracia, and grants peace to the Ætolians. Meanwhile his colleague Manlius arriving at Ephesus in the beginning of spring, and receiving the army from the Scipios, invades Gallogræcia. After the expedition, in the middle of autumn, he disposes his forces into quarters on the coast.</p> <p>Philopœmen Achæan prætor from May.</p> <p>Pravilus of Scotussa Thessalian prætor.</p> <p>Ennius accompanied the consul Fulvius into Ætolia.</p>
188	<p>566 Ol. 148 <i>C. Livius Salinator M. Valerius Messalla</i>. Naval triumph of Æmilius Regillus Feb. 1. Triumph of Scipio Asiaticus <i>prid. Kal. Mart.</i></p>



	<p>Manlius remains in Asia at the beginning of summer. The treaty with Antiochus is completed.</p> <p>Philopœmen is again Achæan prætor, from May 188. He abrogates the laws of Lycurgus.</p> <p>Eunomus of Larissa is Thessalian prætor a second time.</p>
187	<p>567 <i>M. Æmilius Lepidus C. Flaminius</i>. Both the consuls are sent into Liguria.</p> <p>Achæan embassies are sent to Rome and Egypt, while Philopœmen is still in office, between March 15 and the middle of May 187.</p> <p>Androsthenes of Gyrtion Thessalian prætor.</p>
186	<p>568 <i>Sp. Postumius Albinus Q. Marcius Philippus</i>. The <i>Bacchanalia</i> are prohibited at Rome and in Italy by the senate.</p> <p>Thrasymachus of Atrax Thessalian prætor.</p>
185	<p>569 <i>Ap. Claudius Pulcher M. Sempronius Tuditanus</i>. Aristænus Achæan prætor from May. Laontomenes of Pheræ Thessalian prætor.</p>
184	<p>570 Ol. 149 <i>P. Claudius Pulcher L. Porcius Licinus</i>. Lycortas Achæan prætor, from May. Pausanias Thessalian prætor.</p> <p>Cato censor. Death of Plautus.</p>
183	<p>571 <i>Q. Fabius Labeo M. Claudius Marcellus</i>. Philopœmen is Achæan prætor from May; his 8th prætorship. He is captured and put to death at Messene, in his 70th year, after he had been 40 years in public affairs. His death in his 8th prætorship might occur in the beginning of the year 182.</p> <p>Theodorus of Argos Thessalian prætor.</p> <p>Aristonymus succeeded Apollonius Rhodius as librarian at Alexandria towards the close of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes. A different person from Aristonymus the comic poet.</p>
182	<p>572 <i>L. Æmilius Paullus Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus</i>. Liguria is allotted to the consuls, Spain to the prætors Fulvius and Manlius.</p> <p>Lycortas Achæan prætor immediately after the death of Philopœmen. Polybius the historian, son of Lycortas, bore the urn at the funeral of Philopœmen.</p> <p>Nicocrates of Scotussa Thessalian prætor.</p> <p>(Death of Hannibal in the same year with Philopœmen, or in 183, or in 182, or in 181, according to various accounts. Death of Scipio in 184, or 183.)</p> <p>Nicander flourished in the reign of the fifth Ptolemy, and dedicated to Attalus:—probably Attalus III.</p>

181	<p>573 <i>P. Cornelius Cethegus M. Bæbius Tamphilus</i>. The proconsul Æmilius Paullus invades the Ligures Inganni. Embassies to the senate from the kings Ariarathes Pharnaces Eumenes, from the Lacedæmonians and Achæans.</p> <p>Hippolochus of Larissa Thessalian prætor.</p> <p>Polybius is appointed ambassador to Egypt.</p>
180	<p>574 Ol. 150 <i>A. Postumius Albinus C. Calpurnius Piso</i>.</p> <p>The Ligurians, 40,000 including women and children, are transferred to Samnium. After which both the consuls enter Liguria with an army, and remove 7000 more to Samnium.</p> <p>Cleomachides of Larissa Thessalian prætor.</p>
179	<p>575 <i>L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus Q. Fulvius Flaccus</i>. The consul Fulvius carries on war in Liguria. Death of Philip king of Macedonia towards the close of 179. Phyrinus of Gomphi 17th Thessalian prætor.</p> <p>Cæcilius the comic poet flourished.</p>
178	<p>576 <i>M. Junius Brutus A. Manlius Vulso</i>. Manlius the consul carries on war in Istria. Towards the winter he joins his colleague, and both winter at Aquileia.</p> <p>In this 19th year of Thessalian independence (see 196) Perseus probably acquired authority in Thessaly.</p>
177	<p>577 <i>C. Claudius Pulcher Ti. Sempronius Gracchus</i>. The consuls of the former year, having wintered at Aquileia, in the beginning of spring invade Istria. The war is finished by the consul Claudius, while the other consul Sempronius is successful in Sardinia.</p>
176	<p>578 Ol. 151 <i>Cn. Corn. Scipio Hispalus Q. Petillius Spurius</i>. Cornelius dies. Petillius is slain by the Ligurians.</p>
175	<p>579 <i>P. Mucius Scævula M. Æmilius Lepidus II</i>.</p> <p>Mucius obtains a triumph for success against the Ligurians.</p>
174	<p>580 <i>Sp. Postumius Albinus Paullus Q. Mucius Scævula</i>.</p> <p>Xenarchus Achæan prætor, from May.</p>
173	<p>581 <i>L. Postumius Albinus M. Popillius Lænas</i>. Both the consuls are sent into Liguria. Popillius after a victory sends his forces into winter quarters.</p> <p>Ennius in his 67th year writes the 12th book of his Annals.</p>
172	<p>582 Ol. 152 <i>C. Popillius Lænas P. Ælius Ligus</i>.</p> <p>Eumenes (or his brother Attalus) comes to Rome. At the close of this year preparations are made for the approaching contest with Perseus.</p> <p>Archon Achæan prætor, from May. Lyciscus Ætolian prætor from the autumn. The Bœotian confederacy is dissolved in the autumn of 172.</p>

171	583 <i>P. Licinius Crassus C. Cassius Longinus</i> . The consul Licinius proceeds to Macedonia after June 1, and after various operations winters in Bœotia and Thessaly.
170	584 <i>A. Hostilius Mancinus A. Atilius Serranus</i> . The consul Hostilius commands in Macedonia. He returned to hold the <i>comitia</i> which were in Jan. B. C. 169. Birth of Attius the tragic poet.
169	585 <i>Q. Marcius Philippus II Cn. Servilius Cæpio</i> . The proconsul Hostilius remained at Larissa after the expiration of his year. Perseus in the winter of 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ had made an expedition into Illyricum. Hostilius delivers up the command in Thessaly to the consul Philippus. Archon Achæan prætor, from May. Polybius the historian is commander of the cavalry, and during this campaign is ambassador to the consul Philippus in Perrhæbia. Death of Ennius.
168	586 Ol. 153 <i>L. Æmilius Paullus II C. Licinius Crassus</i> . In the spring the consul Æmilius and the prætor Octavius proceed to Macedonia. Perseus is overthrown at Pydna June 22, and taken soon after in Samothrace. The Illyrian war is ended by Anicius in 30 days. Polybius and his father Lycortas advocate the cause of Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Physcon in the Achæan assembly. The 53 years marked in the history of Polybius terminate at the defeat of Perseus. Death of Cæcilius the comic poet.
167	587 <i>Q. Ælius Pætus M. Junius Pennus</i> . The proconsul Æmilius makes a progress in Greece, towards autumn, settles the affairs of Macedonia with ten commissioners, and, after the destruction of 70 towns in Epirus, transports his army into Italy. Triumph of Æmilius 28, 29, 30 Nov. and of Octavius Dec. 1. More than 1000 of the chief Achæans are sent to Rome. They remained 16 years in Italy. Embassy of the Rhodians to Rome. Polybius was among the Achæan exiles, and formed an acquaintance at this time with Scipio, who was 18 years of age.
166	588 <i>C. Sulpicius Gallus M. Claudius Marcellus</i> . The consul Marcellus subdues the Alpine Gauls, and Gallus the Ligurians. The <i>Andria</i> of Terence is performed at the Megalensian games.
165	589 <i>T. Manlius Torquatus Cn. Octavius</i> coss. The <i>Hecyra</i> of Terence at the Megalensian games.



164	590 Ol. 154 <i>A. Manlius Torquatus Q. Cassius Longinus</i> coss.
163	591 <i>Ti. Sempronius Gracchus II M' Juventius Thalna</i> . War in Corsica. The <i>Heautontimorumenos</i> of Terence, at the Megalensian games.
162	592 <i>P. Corn. Scipio Nasica C. Marcius Figulus</i> , Hipparchus observes the autumnal equinox Sept. 27 B. C. 162.
161	593 <i>M. Valerius Messalla C. Fannius Strabo</i> . The teaching of philosophy and rhetoric is prohibited at Rome. The <i>Eunuchus</i> of Terence at the Megalensian games. The <i>Phormio</i> at the Roman games.
160	594 Ol. 155 <i>L. Anicius Gallus M. Corn. Cethegus</i> . Death of Æmilius Paullus. Satyrus the peripatetic wrote the Lives of the Philosophers before the time of Heraclides Lembus, by whom he was abridged. The <i>Adelphi</i> of Terence. Acted at the Funeral of Æmilius Paullus.
159	595 <i>Cn. Corn. Dolabella M. Fulvius Nobilior</i> . Crates of Mallus the grammarian is at Rome about this time. Hipparchus observes the autumnal equinox. Death of Terence æt. 35.
158	596 <i>M. Æmilius Lepidus C. Popillius Lænas II</i> . Aristarchus the grammarian flourished. Hipparchus observes the equinox Sept. 27 B. C. 158.
157	597 <i>Sex. Julius Cæsar L. Aurelius Orestes</i> . Ariarathes king of Cappadocia comes to Rome.
156	598 Ol. 156 <i>L. Corn. Lentulus Lupus C. Marcius Figulus II</i> . The consul Marcius carries on war in Dalmatia. Aristarchus flourished. Born in Samothrace, but naturalized at Alexandria. His successor was Ammonius.
155	599 <i>P. Corn. Scipio Nasica II M. Claudius Marcellus II</i> . The Athenians, who, after the war with Perseus, had plundered the Oropians, and had been fined 500 talents, obtain a remission of their fine. Diogenes Babylonius the Stoic Critolaus the peripatetic and Carneades the academic are ambassadors to Rome in behalf of the Athenians.
154	600 <i>Q. Opimius L. Postumius Albinus</i> . Opimius is sent against the Oxybii.

	<p>Callistratus the disciple of Aristophanes was contemporary with Aristarchus.</p> <p>Pacuvius flourished.</p>
153	<p>601 <i>Q. Fulvius Nobilior T. Annius Luscus</i>. These consuls first entered upon office Jan. 1. The Celtiberian war is conducted unsuccessfully by Nobilior.</p> <p>Cato is in his 81st year.</p>
152	<p>602 Ol. 157 <i>M. Claudius Marcellus III L. Valerius Flaccus</i>. Marcellus conducts the war in Spain.</p>
151	<p>603 <i>L. Licinius Lucullus A. Postumius Albinus</i>. The Celtiberian war is unpopular at Rome. The consul Lucullus is guilty of cruelty avarice and perfidy in his war with a Celtiberian tribe, which he conducted ill. The prætor Galba is defeated by the Lusitanians. He winters in Lusitania, and Lucullus in Turdetania. Return of the Achæan exiles.</p> <p>Polybius returns with the other Achæan exiles.</p> <p>Albinus the consul was a writer of history.</p>
150	<p>604 <i>T. Quinctius Flamininus M'Acilius Balbus</i>. Galba after his winter quarters treacherously destroys the Lusitanians. Among the few who escaped was Viriathus. For these acts Galba was prosecuted in 149, but acquitted.</p> <p>Menalcidas Achæan prætor.</p> <p>Cato æt. 84 brought down his <i>Origines</i> to this period.</p>
149	<p>605 <i>L. Marcius Censorinus M'Manilius</i>. First year of the third Punic war. Carthage was at this time 23 Roman miles in circuit, and according to Strabo contained 700,000 inhabitants.</p> <p>First law at Rome against extortion.</p> <p>Death of Masinissa æt. 90.</p> <p>Diæus Achæan prætor.</p> <p>Andriscus a pretended son of Perseus appears in Macedonia.</p> <p>Polybius is sent for by the consul Manilius, in Africa.</p> <p>Death of Cato at the age of 86, after prosecuting Galba for his acts in 150.</p> <p>L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, the author of the law against extortion, was also a historian.</p>
148	<p>606 Ol. 158 <i>Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus</i>. The pretender Andriscus is defeated by Metellus in Macedonia.</p> <p>Damocritus Achæan prætor.</p> <p>Heraclides Lembus flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor; and at the end of it, because Satyrus, whose work he abridged, also flourished in the same reign.</p>

147	<p>607 <i>P. Corn. Scipio Africanus Æmilianus C. Livius Drusus.</i> Carthage is besieged first by Mancinus, and then by the consul Scipio.</p> <p>Diæus Achæan prætor.</p> <p>Hipparchus observed the autumnal equinox Sept. 26 B. C. 147, and the vernal equinox March 24 B. C. 146.</p>
146	<p>608 <i>Cn. Corn. Lentulus L. Mummius.</i> Carthage destroyed by Scipio.</p> <p>Critolaus Achæan prætor, from autumn 147. He is defeated by Metellus at the time when the consul Mummius was expected. Diæus succeeds to the command, and is overthrown by Mummius, who destroys Corinth. Ten <i>legati</i> sent to assist Mummius completed their task in 6 months, which terminated in spring 145. The fall of Carthage was about July, the fall of Corinth about September, of the year 146.</p> <p>Polybius was present with Scipio at the destruction of Carthage, and then passed into Greece, and was present at the destruction of Corinth. After this period he visited Egypt, which he saw in the reign of Physcon. The 39th book of his History ended at the fall of Corinth.</p> <p>Clitomachus is now at Athens with Carneades. Antitheus Athenian archon.</p> <p>Cassius Hemina the historian flourished. C. Fannius the historian served with Scipio at Carthage.</p>
145	<p>609 <i>Q. Fabius Max. Æmilianus L. Hostilius Mancinus.</i> The consul Fabius commands in Spain against Viriathus. Triumph of Mummius for Achaia. Lælius prætor.</p> <p>Antipater of Tarsus the Stoic succeeded Diogenes Babylonius and taught Panætius. The precise times of his succession and his death are not known to us; but his predecessor Diogenes lived 88 years, and the death of his successor Panætius was probably not long before B. C. 100. Blossius, who was the companion of Tiberius Gracchus in 133, was a disciple of Antipater.</p>
144	<p>610 <i>Ol. 159 Ser. Sulpicius Galba L. Aurelius Cotta.</i></p> <p>End of the <i>Chronica</i> of Apollodorus. This work embraced 1040 years B. C. 1183—144. Apollodorus was the disciple of Diogenes the Stoic and of the grammarian Aristarchus, and dedicated his work to Attalus II.</p>
143	<p>611 <i>Ap. Claudius Pulcher Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.</i> The consul Claudius subdued the Salassi. The consul Metellus was sent into Spain.</p> <p>Embassy of Scipio Africanus to Egypt. Panætius accompanied Scipio in his embassy. Panætius was the disciple of Diogenes and Antipater, and taught Posidonius. His ancestors had been eminent at Rhodes. Panætius wrote a treatise</p>



	<p><i>de Officiis</i>, which Cicero has followed. He survived that publication 30 years, but the age to which he lived and the dates of his birth and death are unknown. His disciple Mnesarchus was teaching at Athens in 111.</p> <p>Hipparchus observed the autumnal equinox Sept. 26 B. C. 143.</p>
142	<p>612 <i>L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus Q. Fabius Max. Servilianus</i>. The proconsul Q. Metellus defeats the Celtiberians. Servilianus conducts the war against Viriathus.</p> <p>Birth of Antonius the orator. Fannius the historian serves in Spain.</p>
141	<p>613 <i>Cn. Servilius Cæpio Q. Pompeius Rufus</i>. The consul Pompeius succeeds Q. Metellus in Hither Spain. Servilianus remains as proconsul in Lusitania. Manlius Torquatus condemns his own son Silanus for maladministration in his prætorship in Macedonia.</p>
140	<p>614 Ol. 160 <i>C. Lælius Sapiens Q. Servilius Cæpio</i>. The consul Q. Cæpio succeeds to the command in Lusitania. Viriathus is betrayed and slain, 14 years after the beginning of the Celtiberian war in 153.</p> <p>Birth of Crassus the orator. Attius æt. 30 Pacuvius æt. 80.</p>
139	<p>615 <i>Cn. Calpurnius Piso M. Popillius Lænas</i>. Popillius succeeds Pompeius (who had remained as proconsul) in Hither Spain. Pompeius had made a disgraceful treaty with the Numantines, which he afterwards disowned.</p> <p>The astrologers are banished from Italy.</p>
138	<p>616 <i>P. Corn. Scipio Nasica D. Junius Brutus</i>. The consul Brutus is sent into Lusitania. Popillius is unsuccessful in Hither Spain.</p> <p>Birth of Sulla.</p> <p>Nicander the poet is still living, for he dedicates to Attalus III, who began to reign in 138.</p>
137	<p>617 <i>M. Æmilius Lepidus Porcina C. Hostilius Mancinus</i>. Mancinus defeated by the Numantines made an ignominious peace, which the senate refused to ratify. Brutus remains in Lusitania as proconsul.</p>
136	<p>618 Ol. 161 <i>P. Furius Philus Sex. Atilius Serranus</i>. The proconsul Brutus obtains a victory over the Gallæci June 9, but Lepidus in this campaign is unsuccessful against the Vaccæi.</p>
135	<p>619 <i>Ser. Fulvius Flaccus Q. Calpurnius Piso</i>. Piso is sent against Numantia.</p> <p>Hipparchus observes the vernal equinox March 23 B. C. 135.</p>

134	<p>620 <i>P. Corn. Scipio Africanus Æmilianus II C. Fulvius Flaccus.</i> The consul Scipio is sent against Numantia. Marius and Jugurtha serve under him.</p> <p>The Servile war began in Sicily, and was committed to the consul Fulvius.</p> <p>Sempronius Asellio the historian serves at Numantia, and the poet Lucilius, now about 20 years of age. The historians Quadrigarius and Antias flourished between the years 133 and 88.</p>
133	<p>621 <i>P. Mucius Scævula L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.</i> Scipio besieges Numantia, which surrenders.</p> <p>Sedition and death of Tib. Gracchus.</p> <p>The consul Piso conducts the Servile war in Sicily.</p>
132	<p>622 Ol. 162 <i>P. Popillius Lænas P. Rupilius.</i> Triumph of Scipio for Numantia, 14 years after his former triumph. End of the Servile war in Sicily.</p>
131	<p>623 <i>P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus L. Valerius Flaccus.</i> The war with Aristonicus in Pergamus is committed to Crassus.</p>
130	<p>624 <i>C. Claudius Pulcher M. Perperna.</i> The proconsul Crassus is defeated and slain.</p>
129	<p>625 <i>C. Sempronius Tuditanus M' Aquillius.</i> Aristonicus is captured and put to death.</p> <p>Death of Scipio Africanus.</p> <p>The consul Sempronius engages the Iapydes.</p> <p>Death of Carneades at the age of 85. Polybius is still living. His birth could not be earlier than 210, his death not earlier than 129.</p> <p>Lucilius published the first book of his Satires after the death of Carneades.</p>
128	<p>626 Ol. 163 <i>Cn. Octavius T. Annius Rufus.</i></p> <p>Apollodorus of Athens mentioned the death of Carneades in his <i>Chronica</i>.</p> <p>Hipparchus observes the vernal equinox March 22 B. C. 128.</p>
127	<p>627 <i>L. Cassius Longinus L. Cornelius Cinna.</i></p> <p>Antipater of Sidon is still living. Hipparchus takes observations at Rhodes May 2 and July 7 B. C. 127.</p>
126	<p>628 <i>M. Æmilius Lepidus L. Aurelius Orestes.</i> The consul Orestes reduces the Sardinians, who had rebelled, C. Gracchus being quæstor.</p>
125	<p>629 <i>M. Plautius Hypsæus M. Fulvius Flaccus.</i> The consul Fulvius, called to assist the Massilians, first subdued the Transalpine Ligurians. Aurelius remains as proconsul in Sardinia.</p>

124	630 Ol. 164 <i>C. Cassius Longinus C. Sextius Calvinus</i> . <i>Aurelius</i> and <i>C. Gracchus</i> remain till this year in <i>Sardinia</i> .
123	631 <i>Q. Cæcilius Metellus T. Quinctius Flaminius</i> . <i>C. Gracchus</i> tribune of the people. The consul <i>Metellus</i> carries on war against the <i>Baleares</i> . A colony is sent to <i>Carthage</i> . <i>Cælius Antipater</i> flourished in the time of <i>C. Gracchus</i> . He was earlier than <i>Sisenna</i> , and the instructor of <i>Crassus</i> the orator.
122	632 <i>Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus C. Fannius Strabo</i> . Second tribunate of <i>C. Gracchus</i> . <i>Livius Drusus</i> is one of his colleagues. <i>C. Sextius</i> the proconsul, having defeated the <i>Salluvii</i> , founds <i>Aquæ Sextiæ</i> .
121	633 <i>Q. Fabius Maximus L. Opimius</i> . Death of <i>C. Gracchus</i> . The consul <i>Q. Fabius Maximus</i> , the grandson of <i>Æmilius Paulus</i> , overthrew the <i>Allobroges</i> and <i>Arverni</i> on the 8th of <i>August</i> or <i>Sextilis</i> .
120	634 Ol. 165 <i>P. Manlius C. Papirius Carbo</i> coss.
119	635 <i>L. Cæcilius Metellus L. Aurelius Cotta</i> . The consuls subdue the <i>Segestani Carni</i> . <i>Metellus</i> after this campaign winters in <i>Dalmatia</i> . <i>C. Marius</i> is tribune of the people. <i>L. Crassus</i> æt. 21 accuses <i>Carbo</i> .
118	636 <i>M. Porcius Cato Q. Marcius Rex</i> . Death of the consul <i>Cato</i> in <i>Africa</i> . <i>Marcus</i> subdues the <i>Stœni</i> , an <i>Alpine</i> people. Death of <i>Micipsa</i> ; expulsion of <i>Adherbal</i> .
117	637 <i>L. Cæcilius Metellus Diadematus Q. Mucius Scævula</i> . Ambassadors are sent to <i>Numidia</i> , who restore <i>Adherbal</i> . Triumph of <i>L. Metellus Dalmaticus</i> the proconsul over the <i>Dalmatians</i> .
116	638 Ol. 166 <i>C. Licinius Geta Q. Fabius Maximus</i> coss. Birth of <i>Varro</i> .
115	639 <i>M. Æmilius Scaurus M. Cæcilius Metellus</i> coss.
114	640 <i>M. Acilius Balbus C. Porcius Cato</i> . The consul <i>Cato</i> is unsuccessful against the <i>Scordisci</i> in <i>Thrace</i> . Birth of <i>Hortensius</i> . Oration of <i>Crassus</i> <i>pro Licinia virgine Vestali</i> . Dec. 20 B. C. 114.
113	641 <i>C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius Cn. Papirius Carbo</i> . The consul <i>Carbo</i> is overthrown by the <i>Cimbri</i> .



	Agatharchides was reader to Heraclides Lembus, and afterwards in advanced age tutor to Ptolemy, who was probably Soter II, the elder son of Ptolemy Physcon.
112	642 Ol. 167 <i>M. Livius Drusus L. Calpurnius Piso</i> . The consul Drusus conquers the Scordisci. Jugurtha kills Adherbal.
111	643 <i>P. Corn. Scipio Nasica L. Calpurnius Bestia</i> . Jugurthine war. Diodorus the peripatetic the successor of Critolaus and Clitomachus the successor of Carneades flourished. Both are now in advanced age. Crassus is quæstor, according to some, in this year.
110	644 <i>M. Minucius Rufus Sp. Postumius Albinus</i> . The consul Albinus conducts the war against Jugurtha.
109	645 <i>Q. Cæcilius Metellus M. Junius Silanus</i> . The Jugurthine war is carried on by the consul Metellus. Meanwhile the consul Silanus is engaged with the Cimbri, and Minucius the proconsul with the Thracians.
108	646 Ol. 168 <i>Ser. Sulpicius Galba M. Aurelius Scaurus</i> . Metellus continues in the command in Numidia as proconsul.
107	647 <i>L. Cassius Longinus C. Marius</i> . Metellus is superseded by Marius, to whom Sulla is quæstor. Metellus however obtains a triumph and the surname of <i>Numidicus</i> . The consul Cassius is slain by the Helvetii. Dionysius Thrax, who taught at Rhodes, came between Aristarchus, who began to be eminent in 156, and Tyrannio, who was brought to Rome in 71. L. Crassus the orator is tribune of the people.
106	648 <i>C. Atilius Serranus Q. Servilius Cæpio</i> . Jugurtha is captured in the beginning of 106. Birth of Pompey Sept. 30. By a law of the consul Servilius the judicial power is divided between the senators and the equestrian order. Crassus, now 34 years of age, advocates the Servilian law. Birth of Cicero Jan. 3.
105	649 <i>P. Rutilius Rufus C. Manlius</i> . Successes of the Cimbri. They defeat first the consul Manlius, and then, on the 6th of October, the proconsul Cæpio.
104	650 Ol. 169 <i>C. Marius II C. Flavius Fimbria</i> . Triumph of Marius. Sulla is lieutenant to Marius.
103	651 <i>C. Marius III L. Aurelius Orestes</i> . Marius employs this year in preparation for the war. Artemidorus flourished. Attii Tereus. Death of Turpilius.

102	<p>652 <i>C. Marius IV Q. Lutatius Catulus</i>. Marius defeated the Teutoni and Ambrones near Aquæ Sextiæ.</p> <p>A second Servile war arises in Sicily.</p> <p>Archias in his youth comes to Rome.</p> <p>Birth of the poet Furius Bibaculus.</p>
101	<p>653 <i>C. Marius V M' Aquillius</i>. The Cimbri, who had penetrated into Italy, are overthrown by the consul Marius and the proconsul Catulus. The battle was fought on the 30th of <i>Quintilis</i>.</p> <p>Aquillius commands in Sicily, and concludes the war in the fourth year. See 99.</p> <p>Disorders at Rome are excited by Saturninus, who was a candidate for the tribuneship, after the return of Marius to Rome.</p>
100	<p>654 Ol. 170 <i>C. Marius VI L. Valerius Flaccus</i>. Metellus withdrew to Rhodes a voluntary exile. The turbulent Saturninus is slain.</p> <p>Birth of Cæsar July 12.</p> <p>Q. Ælius the grammarian, a Roman knight, was the preceptor of Varro and of Cicero. He accompanied Metellus into exile.</p>
99	<p>655 <i>M. Antonius A. Postumius Albinus</i>. Metellus returns from exile towards the end of 99.</p> <p>M' Aquillius concludes the Servile war in Sicily in the fourth year. It had commenced in 102; it was ended in 99.</p>
98	<p>656 <i>Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos T. Didius</i> coss. (M. Antonius defended M' Aquillius in 98 or 97.)</p>
97	<p>657 <i>Cn. Cornelius Lentulus P. Licinius Crassus</i>. The proconsul Didius, under whom Sertorius served, is successful against the Celtiberians.</p>
96	<p>658 Ol. 171 <i>Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus C. Cassius Longinus</i>. Ptolemy Apion king of Cyrene bequeaths Cyrene to the Roman people.</p>
95	<p>659 <i>L. Licinius Crassus Q. Mucius Scævula</i>.</p> <p>Meleager the collector of the <i>Anthologia</i> flourished.</p> <p>Hortensius at the age of 19 first spoke in the forum.</p> <p>Oration of Crassus <i>pro Cæpione</i>.</p> <p>Birth of Lucretius.</p>
94	<p>660 <i>C. Cælius Caldus L. Domitius Ahenobarbus</i> coss.</p>
93	<p>661 <i>C. Valerius Flaccus M. Herennius</i>. Triumph of the proconsul Didius June 10 over the Celtiberi, and of the proconsul P. Licinius Crassus June 12 over the Lusitani.</p>

92	<p>662 Ol. 172 <i>C. Claudius Pulcher M. Perperna</i>. Sulla in Cappadocia receives the ambassadors of the king of Parthia; the first public transaction between Rome and Parthia. Exile of P. Rutilius. The censors issue an edict against the rhetoricians.</p> <p>Philo the successor of Clitomachus flourished.</p> <p>L. Crassus is censor, now in his 48th year.</p> <p>Aurelius Opilius the grammarian resides with Rutilius in his exile in Asia.</p>
91	<p>663 <i>L. Marcius Philippus Sex. Julius Cæsar</i>. M. Livius Drusus the tribune of the people excites the Italian states by holding out to them the hope of obtaining the rights of Roman citizens. Drusus is slain towards the end of this year.</p> <p>Metrodorus of Scepsis was about the same age as Crassus, or rather older; for he had been patronised by Demetrius of Scepsis, who was near 50 in the year 156. Metrodorus died, or was put to death, in the year 70.</p> <p>Death of L. Crassus at the age of 49 Sept. 19 B. C. 91.</p>
90	<p>664 <i>L. Julius Cæsar P. Rutilius Lupus</i>. The Marsian or Social War began. The senate gives the freedom of the city to such of the Italian states as remained faithful.</p> <p>Scymnus Chius flourished. He wrote after Apollodorus, and dedicated to Nicomedes king of Bithynia.</p> <p>M. Æmilius Scaurus, who was consul in 115, is now 72 years old. He left orations and three books of his own life. His son was defended by Cicero in 54.</p>
89	<p>665 <i>Cn. Pompeius Strabo L. Porcius Cato</i>. The consul Pompeius is successful against the Marsi. Porcius is slain. Sulla as lieutenant subdued the Hirpini, overthrew the Samnites in many battles, and gained other advantages. On the last day of April he captured Stabiae a town of Campania.</p> <p>Cicero serves under the consul Pompeius.</p>
88	<p>666 Ol. 173 <i>L. Cornelius Sulla Q. Pompeius Rufus</i>. The proconsul Pompeius recovers the Vestini and Peligni, and the Social war is concluded. The civil war of Marius and Sulla followed.</p> <p>Mithridates occupied Asia Minor.</p> <p>Philo comes to Rome. From the death of Plato B. C. 347 to this year inclusive the Academy had flourished 260 years, under 10 successive teachers.</p> <p>Apollonius Molo the rhetorician flourished. He taught Cicero, Lucceius, and Cæsar. Cæsar heard him at Rhodes about B. C. 77. Apollonius of Alabanda also taught at Rhodes in the prætorship of Scævula, between 107 and 95.</p> <p>Cicero heard Philo and Molo at Rome. P. Rutilius is resident at Mytilene, and had now been 4 or 5 years in exile. He</p>



wrote the history of his own life, and a Roman history, which was written in the Greek language.

Plotius Gallus teaches at Rome.

- 87     667 *Cn. Octavius L. Cornelius Cinna*. The new citizens who had been admitted from the Italian states had been formed into eight new tribes. The consul Cinna attempted to distribute them among the ancient tribes, where by their numbers they would have outvoted the ancient citizens. For this he is expelled from Rome, and forms a junction with Marius. The first grant of the freedom of the city was made in 90 to those states which had remained in allegiance; when eight new tribes appear to have been added. The second grant was made in 87 to those who were in arms; when the eight new tribes were perhaps augmented to ten.

Cinna and Marius enter Rome and proscribe their adversaries. Meanwhile Sulla opposed Archelaus in Greece and besieged Aristion at Athens.

Antiochus the Academic philosopher accompanied Lucullus to Alexandria. Aristus the brother of Antiochus was also a philosopher of note, and was heard by Brutus.

Antonius Catulus and C. Julius are slain by the Marian party.

Sisenna the historian flourished in these times. He is now advanced in age.

Birth of Catullus.

- 86     668 *L. Corn. Cinna II C. Marius VII*. Death of Marius in January at the age of 70.

Sulla stormed Athens March 1, and then defeated Archelaus in Bœotia. After which he wintered in Thessaly. Valerius Flaccus the colleague of Cinna is slain by his own lieutenant Fimbria.

Posidonius is ambassador at Rome on the part of the Rhodians during the last illness of Marius. Before this period he had visited Spain, Liguria, and Gaul.

Archias is with Lucullus in Asia.

Birth of Sallust Oct. 1 at Amiternum in the Sabine territory.

- 85     669 *L. Corn. Cinna III Cn. Papirius Carbo*. Fimbria after his success in Asia and the destruction of Ilium is overthrown by Sulla. The consuls prepare to oppose Sulla.

Birth of M. Brutus.

- 84     670 Ol. 174 *Cn. Papirius Carbo II L. Corn. Cinna IV*. Cinna is slain by his own army, and Carbo remains sole consul.

Sulla makes peace with Mithridates, who withdraws from Asia and Paphlagonia, and cedes Bithynia to Nicomedes and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes.

Apellicon the friend of the tyrant Aristion was now dead, and Sulla being at Athens on his return to Italy acquires the

	library of Apellicon, which contained the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Tyrannio the grammarian, now at Rome, has access to this library.
83	<p>671 <i>L. Corn. Scipio Asiaticus C. Norbanus</i>. Pompey in his 23rd year opposed Carbo on the part of Sulla. Both the consuls were overthrown by Sulla, who returned to Italy after 4 years absence in the beginning of 83. Sertorius fled to Spain. The Capitol is burnt by accident on the 6th of <i>Quintilis</i> or July. Alexander Polyhistor, now advanced in years, came to Rome in the time of Sulla.</p>
82	<p>672 <i>C. Marius Cn. Papirius Carbo III</i>, Death of Marius besieged at Præneste. Sulla engaged the Samnites under the walls of Rome on the 1st of November, and drove Carbo out of Italy; who was slain in Sicily by Pompey. Sulla at the close of 82 is appointed dictator.</p> <p>Birth of C. Licinius Calvus May 28. Birth of Terentius Varro Atacinus, who composed a poem <i>de Bello Sequanico</i>, and 4 books on the Argonauts, probably translated from Apollonius Rhodius.</p>
81	<p>673 <i>M. Tullius Decula Cn. Corn. Dolabella</i>. Triumph of the dictator Sulla in January 81. Triumph of Pompey in the same year before Oct. 1.</p> <p>Oration of Cicero <i>pro Quinctio</i>.</p> <p>Valerius Cato the grammarian flourished.</p> <p>L. Otacilius Plotus the freedman of Pompey flourished, the author of a history of the acts of Cn. Pompeius Strabo.</p>
80	<p>674 Ol. 175 <i>L. Corn. Sulla Felix II Q. Cæcil. Metellus Pius</i>. (Capture of Mytilene, at which Cæsar was present.)</p> <p>Oration of Cicero <i>pro Sex. Roscio</i>.</p>
79	<p>675 <i>P. Servilius Vatia Ap. Claudius Pulcher</i>. Abdication of Sulla.</p> <p>Antiochus flourished. Zeno the Epicurean, the disciple of Apollodorus, taught at Athens.</p> <p>Cicero hears Antiochus and Zeno at Athens.</p>
78	<p>676 <i>M. Æmilius Lepidus Q. Lutatius Catulus</i>.</p> <p>Death of Sulla at the age of 60 years; followed by war between the consuls. Lepidus attempting to rescind the acts of Sulla is driven out of Italy by his colleague. War of Sertorius in Spain.</p> <p>Posidonius and Apollonius Molo flourished.</p> <p>The history of Sallust began from this year.</p> <p>Sulla at the time of his death was writing the 22nd book of his Commentaries. The book was completed by his freedman Cornelius Epicadus.</p> <p>Cicero hears Molo at Rhodes.</p> <p>Death of Atta the comic poet.</p>

77	<p>677 <i>D. Junius Brutus M. Æmilius Mamercus Lepidus</i>. P. Servilius commands against the pirates of Cilicia Pamphylia and Isauria. He was engaged in actual war 3 years 77—75, but remained in his command 5 years from 78 to 74. Cæsar served under him a short time, in the year 78.</p> <p>Cicero returns to Rome.</p>
76	<p>678 Ol. 176 <i>Cn. Octavius C. Scribonius Curio</i>. Sertorius is opposed by Metellus and Pompey in Spain.</p> <p>Cicero is engaged in pleading causes.</p> <p>Birth of Asinius Pollio.</p>
75	<p>679 <i>C. Octavius C. Aurelius Cotta</i>. Metellus and Pompey continue the war against Sertorius. Servilius subdues the Isaurians.</p> <p>Scribonius succeeds Claudius in Macedonia. He subdues the Dardani and penetrates to the Danube.</p> <p>Cicero quæstor in Sicily. Sextus Peducæus was prætor. Sacerdos succeeded him in 74, and Verres succeeded Sacerdos in 73.</p>
74	<p>680 <i>L. Licinius Lucullus M. Aurelius Cotta</i>. Pompey still carries on the war against Sertorius. Both the consuls are sent against Mithridates, who upon the death of Nicomedes had violated the peace, occupied Bithynia, and invaded the province of Asia. Cotta is defeated, but Lucullus besieges Mithridates near Cyzicus through the following winter.</p> <p>Cicero returns to Rome from Sicily.</p>
73	<p>681 <i>M. Terentius Varro Lucullus C. Cassius</i>. The war with Sertorius continues, the war with Spartacus begins. The pro-consul Lucullus defeats Mithridates at Cyzicus.</p>
72	<p>682 Ol. 177 <i>L. Gellius Poplicola Cn. Corn. Lentulus Clodianus</i>. The consuls oppose Spartacus without success. Sertorius in the 8th year of his command is slain by Perperna, who is taken and put to death by Pompey. Lucullus, having besieged Amisus through the preceding winter, proceeded in the spring of 72 against Mithridates. After this campaign, which ended in the defeat of Mithridates and his flight into Armenia, Lucullus wintered at Cabira.</p>
71	<p>683 <i>P. Corn. Lentulus Cn. Aufidius Orestes</i>. The prætor Crassus ends the war with Spartacus at the time of Pompey's return from Spain. After the flight of Mithridates, Lucullus, having sent Appius to Tigranes (who had now reigned 25 years), returns to the siege of Amisus, which is taken.</p> <p>Triumphs of Metellus and Pompey for the victories in Spain.</p> <p>Tyrannio the grammarian is taken at Amisus. He had heard Dionysius Thrax, and taught Strabo.</p>



70	<p>684 <i>Cn. Pompeius Magnus M. Licinius Crassus.</i>  The judicial power, which had been with the knights for 43 or 44 years, from the law of C. Gracchus B. C. 123 to B. C. 80, and with the senate for 10 years, B. C. 80—70, is communicated to the three orders, the senate, the knights, the tribuni ærarii, by a law of Aurelius Cotta the prætor, passed after <i>Non. Sextil.</i> in this year.</p> <p>Mithridates, 20 months after his flight, has an interview with Tigranes, in the middle of B. C. 70. Metrodorus of Scepsis, about 75 years of age, is put to death by Mithridates.</p> <p>Ciceronis in <i>Q. Cæcilium divinatio et actio I in Verrem.</i> The <i>Divinatio</i> more than 50 days before the <i>Actio</i>, and the <i>Actio</i> in <i>Verrem</i> on the 5th of <i>Sextilis</i>. Birth of Virgil Oct. 15.</p>
69	<p>685 <i>Q. Hortensius Q. Cæcilius Metellus.</i>  Lucullus, having passed the Euphrates and besieged Tigranocerta, defeats Tigranes Oct. 6 and captures Tigranocerta. Q. Catulus dedicates the Capitol.  Cicero ædile.</p>
68	<p>686 Ol. 178 <i>L. Cæcilius Metellus Q. Marcius Rex.</i>  Lucullus towards the close of this year captures Nisibis. Q. Metellus conducts the war in Crete. He had been preceded in this command by Antonius the father of the triumvir, who had been appointed in 75, and was now dead.</p>
67	<p>687 <i>C. Calpurn. Piso M' Acilius Glabrio.</i>  Sedition in the army of Lucullus on account of the appointment of Glabrio to succeed him. The war against the pirates was committed to Pompey; who made his preparations at the end of winter, carried on his operations in the spring, and finished the war at midsummer of the year 67. During the piratical war Metellus concluded the war in Crete. He completed the war in about 2<sup>y</sup> 6<sup>m</sup> at the close of 67. (Cæsar quæstor.)</p> <p>M. Terentius Varro served under Pompey in the war against the pirates and obtained a naval crown.</p>
66	<p>688 <i>M. Æmil. Lepidus L. Volcatius Tullus.</i>  The Mithridatic war is committed to Pompey by the Manilian law. He meets Lucullus in Galatia, and defeats Mithridates. Tigranes surrenders, and Pompey winters (about the middle of December) on the banks of the Cynus.</p> <p>Cicero prætor. Ciceronis <i>pro lege Manilia, pro Cluentio.</i> M. Antonius Gniphio a teacher of rhetoric flourished, whose school was frequented by the prætor Cicero.</p>
65	<p>689 <i>L. Aurel. Cotta L. Manlius Torquatus.</i>  Pompey makes war on the Albani and Iberi.</p> <p>A conspiracy in the beginning of this year against the consuls and senate. Cæsar ædile.</p>

	Atticus, who had retired to Athens in 87, and received Sulla there in 84, returns in 65 to Rome. Ciceronis <i>pro Cornelio prima</i> . Birth of Horace Dec. 8.
64	690 Ol. 179 <i>L. Julius Cæsar C. Marcius Figulus</i> . In the summer of this year Pompey is in Syria, where he winters. Birth of Nicolaus Damascenus. Ciceronis <i>in toga candida</i> .
63	691 <i>M. Tullius Cicero C. Antonius</i> . Death of Mithridates. Jerusalem after a siege of 3 months is taken by Pompey on the day of a fast, in December 63. Conspiracy of Catiline. Cicero first laid open the designs of Catiline <i>XII Kal. Nov.</i> who fled in the night which followed Nov. 8, and the senate decreed the punishment of the conspirators Dec. 5. Birth of Augustus Sept. 23. Parthenius of Nicæa is captured at the close of the Mithridatic war. He lived to the accession of Tiberius, 77 years after this date. He was taken in infancy, and might attain the age of 80 years. Apollodorus of Pergamus the preceptor of Dionysius Atticus flourished. He taught Octavius in the year 44. Ciceronis <i>Orationes consulares XII</i> . His oration <i>pro Murena</i> after Nov. 9 and before Dec. 5. Orbilus Pupillus of Beneventum æt. 50 settled at Rome in 63. He lived to near 100.
62	692 <i>D. Junius Silanus L. Licinius Murena</i> . Catiline slain in the beginning of the year, in winter. Cæsar prætor, Cato tribune of the people. Metellus triumphs for the conquest of Crete. Pompey returns to Italy after the election of the consuls. Theophipus archon at Athens. Posidonius flourished at Rhodes, where Pompey visited him in 67 and again in 62. Hermagoras flourished, who was contemporary with Athenæus. Ciceronis <i>pro Sulla</i> . A few months after the punishment of the conspirators in Dec. 5. 63.
61	693 <i>M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus M. Valer. Messalla</i> . Pompey triumphs Sept. 29. 30 for his victories over the pirates, in Pontus, and in Asia. Castor the chronographer brought his Roman chronology down to this year. The poet Archias is still living. Quintus the brother of Cicero is governor of Asia.
60	694 Ol. 180 <i>L. Afranius Q. Cecilius Metellus Celer</i> . Cæsar after his prætorship commands in Spain. Herodes archon at Athens.

	<p>Posidonius is still at Rhodes. Diodorus Siculus the historian is in Egypt in 60.</p> <p>Cicero mentions in March of this year a history of his consulship written by himself in Greek, and a history (of the Marsic war) written in Greek by Lucullus.</p>
59	<p>695 <i>C. Julius Cæsar M. Calpurnius Bibulus.</i></p> <p>Cæsar passes some agrarian laws.</p> <p>The history of Diodorus ended at the Gallic war of Cæsar.</p> <p>Birth of Livy the historian and of Messalla Corvinus the orator. Ælius Tubero the historian is with Q. Cicero in Asia. Ciceronis <i>pro A. Thermo, pro L. Flacco.</i></p>
58	<p>696 <i>L. Calpurn. Piso Cæsoninus A. Gabinius.</i></p> <p>Cæsar in Gaul. The Helvetii prepare to move at the end of March. War with Ariovistus.</p> <p>Cato is sent by Clodius to Cyprus.</p> <p>Cicero goes into exile. He was at Thurium Ap. 6, at Thessalonica from the end of May to near the end of November. He is at Dyrrachium Nov. 26.</p>
57	<p>697 <i>P. Corn. Lentulus Spinther Q. Cæcil. Metellus Nepos.</i></p> <p>War with the Belgæ.</p> <p>Cicero is recalled from exile. He arrived at Brundisium on the 5th of <i>Sextilis</i>. He returned thanks in the senate Sept. 5. He returned in the 17th month of his exile.</p> <p>Callidius the orator flourished, who afterwards joined Cæsar in the civil war, and died at Placentia.</p>
56	<p>698 Ol. 181 <i>Cn. Corn. Lentulus Marcellinus L. Marcius Philippus.</i></p> <p>Clodius ædile. Cato returns from Cyprus.</p> <p>War of Cæsar in Armorica.</p> <p>The work of Castor ended at this period. His 6 books extended from Ninus to Ol. 181. He was the son-in-law of Deiotarus, and probably put to death in B. C. 45, when his son Castor accused Deiotarus.</p> <p>Ciceronis et Hortensii <i>pro Sextio.</i> Ciceronis <i>in Vatinius, de provinciis consularibus.</i> Cicero addresses Luceius.</p>
55	<p>699 <i>Cn. Pompeius Magnus II M. Licinius Crassus II.</i></p> <p>The provinces are decreed for 5 years, Spain to Pompey, Syria and the Parthian war to Crassus, Gaul and Germany to Cæsar.</p> <p>Fourth campaign in Gaul. Cæsar passes the Rhine in this campaign, and lands in Britain, but returns before the autumnal equinox. The legions winter in Belgium.</p> <p>A further change is made in the judicial law, although the judicial power is still left to the same three orders.</p> <p>Demetrius Magnes is mentioned in 55 by Cicero. Timagenes the sophist is brought to Rome by Gabinius.</p>



	<p>Ciceronis in <i>L. Calpurnium Pisonem, de Oratore libri tres</i>. Virgil assumes the toga virilis Oct. 15, when he entered his 16th year. Lucretius died on the same day.</p>
54	<p>700 <i>L. Domitius Ahenobarbus Ap. Claudius Pulcher</i>.  Second expedition of Cæsar into Britain. War with Ambiorix in the winter following. Crassus went forth from Rome after Nov. 15 B. C. 55. His first campaign in Asia was in 54, after which he wintered in Syria.  Cato prætor.  Ciceronis <i>pro P. Vatinius, pro M. Æmilio Scauro, de Republica libri</i>.</p>
53	<p>701 <i>Cn. Domitius Calvinus M. Valerius Messalla</i>.  Cæsar in his 6th campaign in Gaul invades the Suevi.  Crassus setting forth from his winter quarters passes the Euphrates, and is defeated and slain June 9. He was past 60 at the time of this expedition.  C. Curio flourished, who afterwards joined the party of Cæsar and died in 49.</p>
52	<p>702 Ol. 182 <i>Cn. Pompeius Magnus III sine collega</i>.  Clodius was slain <i>XIII Kal. Feb.</i> of the Roman calendar. His death in reality happened before the end of B. C. 53. After this event Pompey was created sole consul. War of Cæsar with Vercingetorix. The first operations are in the winter. At the end of the campaign Cæsar wintered at Bibracte.  Ciceronis <i>pro Milone</i>.</p>
51	<p>703 <i>Ser. Sulpicius Rufus M. Claudius Marcellus</i>.  Cæsar on the last day of December B. C. 52 proceeded from Bibracte to commence his 8th campaign in Gaul, after which, finding the whole of Gaul reduced to obedience, he disposed his 10 legions in winter quarters, and himself wintered in Belgium. End of the Parthian war.  Posidonius, now in advanced age, came to Rome. He lived to the age of 84 years, and was succeeded by Jason his grandson.  Cicero proconsul in Cilicia.</p>
50	<p>704 <i>L. Æmilius Paullus C. Claudius Marcellus</i>.  Cæsar after his winter quarters proceeded to Italy. The state of parties at Rome and the causes of the civil war are set forth in the letters of Cœlius to Cicero and in the other testimonies quoted in F. H. III p. 196.  Death of Hortensius æt. 64. Cicero leaves his province <i>III Non. Sextil.</i> of the Roman Calendar. He sailed from Ephesus Oct. 1; and reached Brundisium Nov. 25, as the Roman calendar then stood. Sallust, who had been tribune of the people in 52, is expelled the senate by his adversary the censor Appius.</p>

49	<p><b>705 C. Claudius Marcellus M. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.</b>          Cæsar occupies Ariminum. He is deserted by Labienus, who joined Pompey and the consuls <i>IX Kal. Feb.</i> of the Roman calendar. Labienus was slain at Munda in the year 45. Cæsar in pursuit of Pompey reached Brundisium March 9. Pompey embarked March 15. Cæsar, having become master of Italy in 60 days, returned to Rome, and from thence marched to Spain where he overthrew the lieutenants of Pompey, Afranius and Petreius. He is created dictator; and, having arranged his affairs at Rome in 11 days, proceeds to Brundisium, which he reached in December of the Roman calendar; in reality October.</p> <p>Theophanes of Lesbos is in the service of Pompey. He was favoured by Pompey in 62, and was already a Roman citizen before 61. Some of his descendants were put to death under Tiberius in A. D. 33, but Balbinus, who was emperor in A. D. 238, boasted of his descent from Theophanes the friend of Pompey.</p> <p>Cicero arrived at Rome Jan. 4 of the Roman calendar. He quitted Italy June 11 to join Pompey in Greece. Varro is the lieutenant of Pompey in Spain.</p>
48	<p><b>706 Ol. 183 C. Julius Cæsar II P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.</b>          Cæsar gained the victory at Pharsalia on the 9th of <i>Sextilis</i> of the Roman calendar. In reality in the beginning of June. See Note B F. H. III p. 297. Death of Pompey æt. 58 <i>III Kal. Oct.</i> in reality in the middle of July. Cæsar carried on the Alexandrian war, which he completed <i>VI Kal. April.</i> of the Roman calendar. He was nine months in Egypt, from October B. C. 48 to June B. C. 47 of the Roman calendar.</p> <p>Cicero after the battle of Pharsalia returned to Italy. He remained at Brundisium till the arrival of Cæsar in Italy in Sept. B. C. 47.</p> <p>Lenæus a grammarian, the freedman of Pompey, after the death of Pompey and his sons taught at Rome.</p>
47	<p><b>707 C. Julius Cæsar II dict. M. Antonius mag. eq.</b>          Cæsar defeated Pharnaces <i>IV Non. Sextil.</i> of the Roman calendar, and arrived in Italy in September, in reality July. He passed into Africa before the winter.</p> <p>Sallust, now prætor elect, is in danger from a sedition in Cæsar's army in Campania. Cicero met Cæsar at Brundisium, and after the interview proceeded to Rome. C. Julius Higinus the freedman of Augustus is brought to Rome from Alexandria by Cæsar.</p>
46	<p><b>708 C. Julius Cæsar III M. Æmilius Lepidus.</b>          Cæsar was occupied some months by the war in Africa. He gained the battle of Thapsus Ap. 6 (in reality in February)</p>

B. C. 46. Death of Cato in his 49th year. Cæsar returns to Rome and has four triumphs, for Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, Africa.

Cæsar as pontifex maximus reforms the calendar by inserting  $67 + 23 = 90$  days in the year 46. On the state of the calendar see the testimonies in F. H. III p. 204.

King Juba the historian is brought to Rome. He survived B. C. 46 about 50 years, and probably died in A. D. 4. Didymus the grammarian, his opponent, was about 7 or 8 years older than Juba.

Sallust, now prætor, serves under Cæsar in the African war; and was left in command when Cæsar quitted Africa. Cicero in his correspondence describes his own occupations and sentiments during the African war. See F. H. III p. 203. He composed the *Brutus* in B. C. 46, the *Cato* in the autumn of that year, the *Orator* in the beginning of 45. Ciceronis *pro M. Marcello*; in 46, after the return of Cæsar from Africa, *pro Q. Ligario*, after the oration *pro Marcello*.

45

709 C. *Julius Cæsar IV sine collega.*

Cæsar, setting forth in January, travelled from Rome to Obulco in Spain in 27 days. On the 19th of February he had taken the town of Ategua, on the 17th of March he defeated the sons of Pompey at Munda. News of the victory arrived at Rome Ap. 20 on the day before the *Palilia*. Cæsar, returning to Rome in September, triumphed in the beginning of October for the fifth time. Octavius, now in his 18th year, was in Spain with Cæsar.

Sosigenes the astronomer flourished, who assisted in reforming the calendar.

Cicero in his letters in the beginning of 45 notices the affairs of Spain. See F. H. III p. 207. He lost his daughter Tullia in the beginning of this year. He consoles himself with literature, and composes *de Luctu minuendo*. Among other works he completes in this summer *Academicorum libros IV*, *de Finibus libros V*. After the return of Cæsar, Ciceronis *pro Deiotaro*. Curtius Nicia a grammarian is noticed by Cicero in his letters in 45. C. Asinius Pollio (now in his 32nd year), who had served at Pharsalia, is left by Cæsar as lieutenant in Spain.

44

710 Ol. 184 C. *Julius Cæsar V dict. M. Æmilius Lepidus mag. eq.*

The month *Quintilis* is named *Julius*. Cæsar had an ovation Jan. 26. After his victory in Spain he was created dictator for life and consul for 10 years. He is slain March 15. For the testimonies to this event see F. H. III p. 210—212. Cæsar died in his 56th year. Brutus at this time was 41, and



was prætor. Octavius upon the death of Cæsar came from Apollonia to Rome, claimed the inheritance of his uncle, and assumed the name of *Cæsar Octavianus*. Antony withdrew from Rome and proceeded to Cisalpine Gaul in the end of November.

Cratippus taught the son of Cicero at Athens in 44. Antipater Tyrius the Stoic was lately dead. Apollodorus Pergamenus, now in advanced age, is the preceptor of Octavius at Apollonia.

Cicero withdraws from Rome soon after the death of Cæsar, and prepares to pass into Greece; but returns to Rome on the 31st of *Sextilis*. *Philippica I* Sept. 2. At the next meeting of the senate Sept. 19 Cicero is absent, and composes *Philippicam II*. Upon Antony's departure he returned to Rome, and on Dec. 20 delivered *Philipp. III* in the senate, and *Philipp. IV* to the people. Cicero composed in this year many philosophical works; these works are enumerated by himself in F. H. III p. 213.

Corinth and Carthage were rebuilt by Cæsar, 102 years after their destruction in 146.

43

711 *C. Vibius Pansa A. Hirtius*.

Antony besieges D. Brutus in Mutina. The consuls Hirtius and Pansa are slain in the combats with Antony. The first battle was fought April 14 or 15, the second, between the 20th and the 29th. Antony withdrew into Gaul, and formed a junction with Lepidus May 29. Octavianus after this was slighted by the senate, but marching to Rome with his army obtained the consulship on the 19th of *Sextilis*. Plancus, whose letters to Cicero are extant, at first remained firm to the senate, but at last joined Antony.

Octavianus Antony and Lepidus forming a coalition are appointed triumvirs for 5 years, from Nov. 27 B. C. 43 to Dec. 31 B. C. 38.

Diodorus still wrote after the death of Cæsar. He employed 30 years upon his history.

Death of Laberius the mimographus. Publius Syrus flourished. Ciceronis *Philipp. V* Jan. 1. *Philipp. VI* Jan. 5. *Philipp. VII* before Feb. 15. *Philipp. VIII* before March 15. *Philipp. IX* immediately after *Phil. VIII*. *Philipp. X*, *Philipp. XI* after the death of Trebonius. *Philipp. XII* soon after Feb. 23. *Philipp. XIII* after Pansa had joined the army. *Philipp. XIV* April 22.

Birth of Ovid at Sulmo March 21.

Cicero is slain Dec. 7. According to the Roman calendar he wanted 27 days of his 64th year. Varro is proscribed by Antony. Verres the Sicilian prætor perished in the proscription.

42	<p>712 <i>M. Æmilius Lepidus II L. Munatius Plancus.</i></p> <p>Towards the end of the year Brutus and Cassius are overthrown by Cæsar and Antony at Philippi. Sextus Pompeius is now in possession of Sicily. Birth of Tiberius by some accounts.</p> <p>Horace was present at Philippi.</p>
41	<p>713 <i>P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus II L. Antonius Pietas.</i></p> <p>The consul Antonius, brother of the triumvir, at the end of this year is besieged by Cæsar in Perusia.</p>
40	<p>714 Ol. 185 <i>Cn. Domitius Calvinus II C. Asinius Pollio.</i></p> <p>Labienus, the son of Cæsar's lieutenant, had joined Brutus and Cassius and had been sent to solicit succour from the Parthians. After their overthrow at Philippi he remained with the barbarians, and in the year 40 with Pacorus invaded Syria. Cæsar in the beginning of this year compelled L. Antonius to surrender, and dismantled Perusia. After the death of Fulvia Cæsar and the triumvir Antony concluded peace.</p> <p>Hybreas the orator at Mylasa opposes Labienus.</p> <p>Cornelius Nepos flourished. He composed the life of Atticus after B. C. 32. Nepos had been present at Cicero's oration <i>pro Cornelio</i> in 65.</p>
39	<p>715 <i>L. Marcius Censorinus C. Calvisinus Sabinus.</i></p> <p>Birth of Julia. Cæsar and Antony conclude a peace with Sex. Pompeius. Ventidius the lieutenant of Antony defeated the Parthians and slew Labienus. Antony and Octavia at the close of this year winter at Athens.</p> <p>Atteius the philologist flourished. He was consulted by the historians Sallust and Asinius Pollio.</p>
38	<p>716 <i>Ap. Claudius Pulcher C. Norbanus Flaccus.</i></p> <p>Marriage of Cæsar and Livia. Unsuccessful war with Sextus Pompeius. Ventidius on the 9th of June, the day of the defeat of Crassus, overthrows the Parthians, and kills Pacorus the son of their king Orodes. After this victory Ventidius is recalled by Antony, jealous of his success. Sosius, 6 months after the victory of Ventidius, conquers the Jews and takes Jerusalem in December 38. See F. H. III Note C p. 299.</p> <p>Horace completes his 27th year in Dec. 38. The dates of his works are thus given by Bentley. Sat. lib. I was completed in B. C. 40—38, lib. II in 35—33. Epod. in 32, 31. Carm. lib. I in 30—28, lib. II in 26—25, lib. III in 24. 23. Epist. lib. I in 20. 19. Carm. lib. IV et sæculare in 17—15. Art. Poet. and Epist. lib. II were his last compositions, in years unknown.</p>

37	<p>717 <i>M. Agrippa L. Caninius Gallus.</i>  Agrippa crosses the Rhine. Cæsar and Antony hold a conference in Italy. Cæsar after his defeat employs this year in preparation, and defers the war against Pompeius till the next. The triumvirate is renewed for another 5 years from Jan. 1 B. C. 37 to Dec. 31 B. C. 33. Varro in his 80th year composes his work <i>De Re Rustica</i>. Already in his 78th year B. C. 39 he had written 490 volumes. In B. C. 45, his 72nd year, he had not yet published his work <i>De Lingua Latina</i>.</p>
36	<p>718 Ol. 186 <i>L. Gellius Poplicola M. Cocceius Nerva.</i>  War renewed with Sextus Pompeius. Fall of Lepidus. Parthian war and disastrous retreat of Antony, late in the year. Agrippa receives from Cæsar a naval crown for his success against Pompeius.  Conon flourished. He preceded Nicolaus Damascenus, who is now 28 years of age.  The orators the two Furnii, father and son, flourished. Propertius flourished. He came after Tibullus, who was later than Gallus. The birth of Propertius was probably at B. C. 51, between Tibullus and Ovid.</p>
35	<p>719 <i>L. Cornificius Sex. Pompeius.</i>  Death of Sextus Pompeius in his 40th year. War of Cæsar with the Illyrians and Pannonians. The expedition of Antony into Armenia is deferred till the next year.</p>
34	<p>720 <i>L. Scribonius Libo M. Antonius II.</i>  Antony setting forth in spring invades Armenia. Cæsar in Illyricum subdues the Dalmatians.  Death of Sallust in May 34.</p>
33	<p>721 <i>C. Cæsar II L. Volcatius Tullus.</i>  Antony penetrated to the Araxes, but Media and Armenia are conquered by the Parthians. Agrippa ædile.  C. Melissus flourished. Patronised by Mecænas and by Cæsar, he had the care of the Octavian library, which was founded in B. C. 33.</p>
32	<p>722 Ol. 187 <i>Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus C. Sosius.</i>  Preparations for the war between Cæsar and Antony.  The libraries of Pergamus are said at this time to contain 200,000 volumes.  Death of Atticus æt. 77.</p>
31	<p>723 <i>C. Cæsar III M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus.</i>  Cæsar Sept. 2 defeated Antony at Actium. From thence he proceeded to winter quarters at Samos, but was recalled to Italy by a sedition in the army. After 27 days passed at Brundisium, he returned to Asia and Syria on his way to Egypt.</p>



Tyrannio the younger is brought to Rome. Hybreas Theodorus and Plutio flourished.

Horatii Epod. 1 was written before the battle of Actium. Epod. 9 immediately after the battle. Epod. 13 in winter, before the end of the civil war.

30

724 C. *Cæsar IV M. Licinius Crassus.*

Cæsar gains Antony's fleet *Kalendis Sextilibus*. Which was followed by the death of Antony, at the age of 52. Death of Cleopatra. She had reigned 22<sup>y</sup> 6<sup>m</sup> and lived 39 years. See F. H. III p. 404 Note k.

Cæsar commemorates his victory at Actium by founding Nicopolis and by instituting the Actian games.

Athenodorus Sandonis the preceptor of Octavius governs Tarsus. He lived to the age of 82. The philosopher Arius is favoured by Cæsar.

Cornelius Gallus is appointed præfect of Egypt. Parthenius dedicated to Gallus.

29

725 C. *Cæsar V Sex. Appuleius.*

Cæsar, having put a period to the civil wars in the 22nd year, has three triumphs, for Illyricum, for the Actian victory, and for Cleopatra. These triumphs were in *Sextilis*, and lasted three successive days. The temple of Janus shut.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus comes to Italy. Contemporary with him was Cæcilius, who flourished with Timagenes and Hermagoras in the reign of Augustus.

Livy in his first book records the first shutting of the temple of Janus, but not the second. Whence we may conclude with Vossius that the first book was written between the years 29 and 25.

28

726 Ol. 188 C. *Cæsar VI M. Agrippa II.*

*Lustrum conditum.* The number of citizens capable of bearing arms is 4,063,000, the total numbers, including women and children, about 17,258,761.

Death of Varro in his 89th year, towards the close of B. C. 28.

27

727 C. *Cæsar VII M. Agrippa III.*

Cæsar is named *Augustus*. The *anni Augustani* were computed at Rome from Jan. 1 B. C. 27, but at Alexandria from Jan. 1 B. C. 29. Augustus accepts the government for 10 years. He goes into Spain. Tiberius Ap. 24 assumes the *toga virilis*. M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus triumphs over Gaul Sep. 25.

Timagenes the historian lived under Augustus. See the testimonies in F. H. III p. 235.

Tibullus was the companion of Messalla in his war in Aquitania, which was probably carried on in B. C. 28, in which

	<p>year Tibullus might be 30 years of age. Vitruvius names <i>Augustus</i>. His work was therefore published after B. C. 27. He had been favoured by Julius Cæsar, and therefore known before the year 44. He was recommended to Augustus by Octavia.</p>
26	<p>728 <i>C. Cæsar Augustus VIII T. Statilius Taurus.</i></p> <p>Disgrace and death of Cornelius Gallus, who had been appointed præfect of Egypt about Sept. B. C. 30. Sex. Appuleius pro cos. triumphs Jan. 26 for Spain.</p> <p>Q. Cæcilius Epirota a grammarian was the friend of Gallus, after whose death he opened a school.</p> <p>Propertius applied to poetry after Tibullus, and was already in reputation before the rise of Ovid, and was now probably 25 years of age. Gallus, to whom Propertius addresses Elegg. I. 5. 10. 13. 20, was another Gallus, and not <i>Cornelius Gallus</i> the præfect of Egypt.</p>
25	<p>729 <i>C. Cæsar Augustus IX M. Junius Silanus.</i></p> <p>Augustus in Spain carries on the war against the Cantabri and Astures. He was in Spain Jan. 1 B. C. 26 and Jan. 1 B. C. 25. The temple of Janus was shut a second time by Augustus in 25, after the Cantabrian war.</p> <p>Munatius Plancus the orator, the disciple of Cicero, flourished. In the year 43 he had founded Lugdunum. Horace in Carm. II (see B. C. 38) mentions his 40th year which he completed in Dec. B. C. 25. The Georgics of Virgil must have been completed after the death of Gallus B. C. 26.</p>
24	<p>730 Ol. 189 <i>C. Cæsar Augustus X C. Norbanus Flaccus.</i></p> <p>Augustus in this year returned from Spain. The Astures and Cantabri, who after his departure had renewed the war, were soon suppressed.</p> <p>Ælius Gallus the præfect of Egypt penetrates into Arabia Felix. Strabo, who was himself in Egypt in the time of Ælius Gallus, mentions that expedition. Strabo, who is now at the least 30 years of age, was still employed upon his geography 42 years afterwards, in A. D. 18.</p> <p>Death of Quintilius Varus of Cremona, the poet, the friend of Horace and of Virgil. Virgil is now engaged in his <i>Æneid</i>.</p>
23	<p>731 <i>C. Cæsar Augustus XI A. Terentius Varro Murena.</i></p> <p>The tribunician power for life is voted to Augustus. Death of Marcellus in his ædileship. An embassy from Parthia in this year, from <i>Phrahates IV Arsaces XIII</i>.</p> <p>Nestor of Tarsus was the preceptor of Marcellus.</p> <p>Horace in Carm. III (see B. C. 38) celebrates the return of Augustus from Spain, and notices the Parthians.</p>

22	<p>732 <i>M. Claud. Marcellus L. Arruntius. Augusti trib. pot. 2</i> from June 27.</p> <p>Conspiracy and death of Murena. The Æthiopians led by queen Candace make an expedition as far as Elephantina. They are defeated by C. Petronius the præfect of Egypt.</p> <p>Athenæus a peripatetic philosopher is mentioned by Strabo at this time. Pylades the pantomimic actor flourished.</p> <p>Virgil in <i>Æn. VI</i> mentions the death of Marcellus, who died after Aug. 1 B. C. 23. These lines were heard by Augustus in 22, before he proceeded to the East in B. C. 21.</p>
21	<p>733 <i>M. Lollius Q. Æmil. Lepidus. Augusti trib. pot. 3</i> from June 27.</p> <p>Augustus at the end of this year winters at Samos.</p> <p>Death of Atratinus. Horace completes his 44th year Dec. 7 B. C. 21.</p>
20	<p>734 Ol. 190 <i>M. Appuleius P. Silius. Augusti trib. pot. 4</i> from June 27.</p> <p>The standards of Crassus are restored by the Parthians. Birth of Caius Cæsar. Augustus winters again at Samos.</p>
19	<p>735 <i>C. Sentius Saturninus Q. Lucretius. Augusti trib. pot. 5.</i></p> <p>The Cantabri are finally subdued. Augustus, who had passed the two preceding winters at Samos, returns to Rome Oct. 12.</p> <p>Death of Virgil at Brundisium Sept. 22. He had nearly completed his 51st year.</p>
18	<p>736 <i>P. Corn. Lentulus Cn. Corn. Lentulus. Augusti trib. pot. 6</i> from June 27.</p> <p>Augustus accepts the empire for 5 years, and then another 5, making the second period of 10, B. C. 17—8 inclusive.</p> <p>Livy is employed upon his 59th book after this year. Tibullus died soon after Virgil; Propertius survived Tibullus. Cornelius Gallus was born B. C. 66 and was 23 years older than Ovid; Tibullus and Propertius came between them. Gallus may be placed at B. C. 46, Tibullus at 36, Propertius at 26. Ovid was in reputation before his exile from B. C. 17 to A. D. 8.</p>
17	<p>737 <i>C. Furnius C. Junius Silanus. Augusti trib. pot. 7.</i></p> <p><i>Ludi sæculares.</i> Birth of Lucius Cæsar. After the birth and adoption of Lucius, Agrippa is sent into Syria. He reached Asia at the approach of winter, accompanied by Julia.</p> <p>Porcius Latro flourished. Horatii <i>Carmen Sæculare.</i> Varius and Tucca flourished.</p>
16	<p>738 Ol. 191 <i>L. Domitius Ahenobarbus P. Corn. Scipio. Augusti trib. pot. 8.</i></p>



	<p>Agrippa, with Julia (now in her 23rd year), is in Asia.          Nicolaus Damascenus is in favour with Herod.          Death of the elder Macer of Verona, the poet.</p>
15	<p>739 <i>M. Livius Drusus Libo L. Calpurn. Piso. Augusti trib. pot. 9.</i>          Augustus remains in Gaul. Meanwhile Tiberius and Drusus subdue the Rhæti.          Orbilius Pupillus of Beneventum, who was in his 50th year in B. C. 63, lived to near 100 years. Horace in Carm. IV (see B. C. 38) marks his 50th year, which he completed in December B. C. 15.</p>
14	<p>740 <i>M. Licinius Crassus Cn. Corn. Lentulus Augur. Augusti trib. pot. 10</i> from June 27.</p>
13	<p>741 <i>Tib. Claudius Nero P. Quinctilius Varus. Augusti trib. pot. 11.</i>          Augustus returns from Gaul and Agrippa from Asia.          Cestius of Smyrna taught rhetoric in Latin at Rome.</p>
12	<p>742 Ol. 192 <i>M. Valerius Messalla P. Sulpicius Quirinus. Augusti trib. pot. 12.</i>          Augustus succeeds Lepidus as pontifex maximus March 6 B. C. 12. Death of Agrippa in March. Drusus passing the Rhine invades Germany.</p>
11	<p>743 <i>Q. Ælius Tubero Paullus Fabius Maximus. Augusti trib. pot. 13.</i>          Drusus is engaged in Germany, and Tiberius in Dalmatia. Augustus dedicates the theatre of Marcellus. Towards the end of the year he lost his sister Octavia.</p>
10	<p>744 <i>Iulus Antonius Q. Fabius Max. Africanus. Augusti trib. pot. 14.</i>          Augustus in Gaul. Birth of Claudius Aug. 1.          Death of Passienus. C. Julius Hyginus flourished.</p>
9	<p>745 <i>Nero Claudius Drusus T. Quinctius Crispinus Volcanus. Augusti trib. pot. 15.</i>          Drusus, who was carrying on war beyond the Rhine, died from the effects of his horse falling upon him. He had been ædile in B. C. 11, prætor in B. C. 10, and died in the year of his consulship. Augustus is at Ticinus at the time of this event.          The history of Livy ended with the death of Drusus, or soon after. Livy, who is now 50 years of age, survived this period 26 years.</p>
8	<p>746 Ol. 193 <i>C. Marcius Censorinus C. Asinius Gallus. Augusti trib. pot. 16</i> from June 27.</p>

	<p>Augustus accepts the empire a third time for 10 years B. C. 7—A. D. 3. <i>Lustrum conditum</i>. The numbers are 4,233,000, being an increase upon the numbers of B. C. 28. Death of Mecænas at the end of this year. Death of Horace Nov. 27, when he had nearly completed his 57th year.</p>
7	<p>747 <i>Ti. Claudius Nero II Cn. Calpurn. Piso. Augusti trib. pot. 17.</i>  Dionysius of Halicarnassus completes his History. He had been settled 22 years at Rome.</p>
6	<p>748 <i>C. Antistius Veter D. Lælius Balbus. Augusti trib. pot. 18.</i>  Tiberius receives the tribunician power for 5 years. He retired to Rhodes, and remained there 7 years. Caius Cæsar is now in his 15th and Lucius in his 12th year.  Theodorus of Gadara is heard by Tiberius at Rhodes. The preceptor of Hermagoras.  Albutius Silo flourished.</p>
5	<p>749 <i>C. Cæsar Aug. XII L. Corn. Sulla. Augusti trib. pot. 19.</i>  Caius receives the <i>toga virilis</i>.  Tiro the freedman of Cicero lived to the 100th year of his age.</p>
4	<p>750 <i>Ol. 194 C. Calvisius Sabinus L. Passienus Rufus. Augusti trib. pot. 20.</i>  Death of Herod a little before the Passover of B. C. 4. He was about 70 years of age, and had reigned 34 years current from B. C. 37 and 37 years current from B. C. 40.  Nicolaus Damascenus is 60 years of age at this date.  M. Melissus flourished. Death of Porcius Latro the preceptor of Ovid, the friend of Seneca. Seneca himself might have heard Cicero. He addressed his <i>Controversiæ</i> to his sons in his old age, and the <i>Suasoriæ</i> after the <i>Controversiæ</i>. His son the philosopher Seneca might be 20 years of age at the death of Augustus, and the father might be 15 in B. C. 46.</p>
3	<p>751 <i>Cn. Corn. Lentulus M. Valerius Messalinus. Augusti trib. pot. 21 from June 27.</i>  Birth of Galba.  [The Nativity according to Clemens Alex. and Cassiodorus.]</p>
2	<p>752 <i>C. Cæsar Aug. XIII M. Plautius Sylvanus. Augusti trib. pot. 22 from June 27.</i>  Lucius receives the <i>toga virilis</i>. Augustus is named <i>pater patriæ</i> Feb. 5. Julia, now in her 38th year, is banished. She died after Augustus in the same year A. D. 14.  [The Nativity according to Eusebius and Epiphanius.]  Ovidii <i>De Arte Amandi</i>.</p>

1	<p>753 <i>Cn. Corn. Lentulus Cossus L. Calpurnius Piso. Augusti trib. pot. 23.</i>  Caius Cæsar is sent into the East.  Dionysius the geographer flourished. Juba is still living.</p>
A. D. 1	<p>754 <i>Ol. 195 C. Cæsar L. Æmilius Paullus. Augusti trib. pot. 24.</i>  War in Germany.  Sextus the Pythagorean flourished.</p>
2	<p>755 <i>P. Vinicius P. Alphinius Varus. Augusti trib. pot. 25.</i>  Interview of Caius with <i>Phraates IV.</i> After this conference Tiberius returned to Rome before the death of Lucius. Lucius died at Massilia Aug. 20 A. D. 2, eighteen months before the death of his brother.  Thrasyllus was at Rhodes with Tiberius.  Velleius Paterculus serves under Caius Cæsar in the East.</p>
3	<p>756 <i>L. Ælius Lamia M. Servilius. Augusti trib. pot. 26 from June 27.</i>  Augustus accepts the empire for a fourth period of 10 years A. D. 4—13.</p>
4	<p>757 <i>Sex. Ælius Catus C. Sentius Saturninus. Augusti trib. pot. 27.</i>  Death of Caius Cæsar in Lycia Feb. 21 A. D. 4.  Death of Asinius Pollio in his 80th year at his Tusculan villa. Velleius Paterculus serves with Tiberius in Germany.</p>
5	<p>758 <i>Ol. 196 Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus L. Valer. Messalla Valesus. Augusti trib. pot. 28 from June 27.</i>  Second campaign of Tiberius in Germany. During this campaign the Dalmatians prepare to revolt.</p>
6	<p>759 <i>M. Æmilius Lepidus L. Arruntius. Augusti trib. pot. 29.</i>  Tiberius in his third campaign prepared to attack Maroboduus, when Pannonia and Dalmatia revolted.  Velleius Paterculus is <i>quæstor designatus</i>.</p>
7	<p>760 <i>Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus A. Licinius Nerva Silanus. Augusti trib. pot. 30.</i>  Germanicus is sent into Germany. First year of war in Illyria.  Philistio the mimographus flourished.  Velleius is <i>quæstor</i> and <i>legatus</i>.</p>
8	<p>761 <i>M. Furius Camillus Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus. Augusti trib. pot. 31 from June 27.</i>  Pannonia is recovered in this year.</p>



	Athenodorus of Tarsus and Verrius Flaccus flourished. Verrius was the author of the <i>Fasti Verriani</i> , composed in the reign of Tiberius.
9	<p>762 Ol. 197 <i>C. Poppæus Sabinus Q. Sulpicius Camerinus. Augusti trib. pot. 32.</i></p> <p>Illyricum is reduced in this the third year of the war; but at the same time Quintilius Varus with three legions is cut off in Germany.</p> <p>Birth of Vespasian Nov. 17.</p> <p>Ovid after having completed his 50th year is banished. He left Italy in December A. D. 8, and the first winter of his exile is the winter of A. D. <math>\frac{2}{10}</math>. Ovid mentions the 15 books of the <i>Metamorphoses</i>, which were unfinished at the time of his exile. The 12 books of the <i>Fasti</i> had been lately written and dedicated to Augustus. They are completed in his exile, and inscribed to Germanicus. The poem in <i>Ibin</i> was composed in his exile, when he was 50 years of age; therefore in A. D. 9.</p>
10	<p>763 <i>P. Corn. Dolabella C. Junius Silanus. Augusti trib. pot. 33</i> from June 27.</p> <p>Tiberius is again in Germany.</p>
11	<p>764 <i>M. Æmilius Lepidus T. Statilius Taurus. Augusti trib. pot. 34.</i></p> <p>Campaign of Tiberius and Germanicus on the Rhine.</p>
12	<p>765 <i>Germanicus Cæsar C. Fonteius Capito. Augusti trib. pot. 35.</i></p> <p>Triumph of Tiberius, for Pannonia and Dalmatia.</p> <p>Death of Messalla Corvinus at the age of 72. Born in B. C. 60, in his 16th year a student at Athens in B. C. 45, in his 18th at his proscription in November 43, he was 29 at his consulship in B. C. 31.</p> <p>The works of Ovid in this year, the fourth of his exile, are given in F. H. III p. 279.</p>
13	<p>766 Ol. 198 <i>C. Silius L. Munatius Plancus. Augusti trib. pot. 36</i> from June 27.</p> <p>Augustus accepts the empire a fifth time for 10 years. The fourth period terminated in A. D. 13.</p> <p>Sotio of Alexandria, the preceptor of the philosopher Seneca, flourished.</p>
14	<p>767 <i>Sex. Pompeius Sex. Appuleius. Augusti trib. pot. 37</i> from June 27.</p> <p><i>Lustrum conditum.</i> In this the third census taken by Augustus the numbers are 4,097,000 citizens, described in the Lapis Ancyranus. For this monument see F. H. III note D p. 300—303. The Ancyran Inscription determines that <i>Voonones I (Arsuces XVI)</i> king of Parthia began to reign before</p>

the death of Augustus. The appointment may therefore be placed in A.D. 14 before August 19. The narrative of Tacitus concerning the accession of this king is reconciled with the Marble in F. H. III p. 301 note h.

Death of Augustus in his 76th year Aug. 19 A.D. 14. His reign was variously computed

1 from the death of Cæsar March 15 B.C. 44=57y 5m 5d.

2 from the first consulship of Augustus Aug. 19 B.C. 43=56 years.

3 from the triumvirate Nov. 27 B.C. 43=55y 8m 24d.

4 from the battle of Actium Sept. 2 B.C. 31=44 years wanting 14 days.

5 from the entrance into Alexandria Aug. 29 B.C. 30=43 years wanting 10 days.

Strabo is still living. A passage of the 4th book was written in A.D. 18; the conclusion of *lib.* 6 between Aug. 19 A.D. 14 and Oct. 9 A.D. 19; *lib.* 12 was completed after the death of Archelaus A.D. 17. But Strabo is now in advanced age. He had seen Servilius Isauricus who died in B.C. 44, and had studied under Tyrannio who was brought to Rome in B.C. 71. We may assign the birth of Strabo to B.C. 54, 72 years before A.D. 18. Other testimonies confirm this estimate, which are given in F. H. III p. 581.

Ovid in *Ex Ponto lib.* 4 mentions the death of Augustus and the 6th year of his own exile, which was current in August or September A.D. 14. *Ex Ponto* IV. 9 was written in A.D. 16, before July of that year. Ovid died in exile in his 60th year in A.D. 18.

Velleius Paterculus is prætor elect.

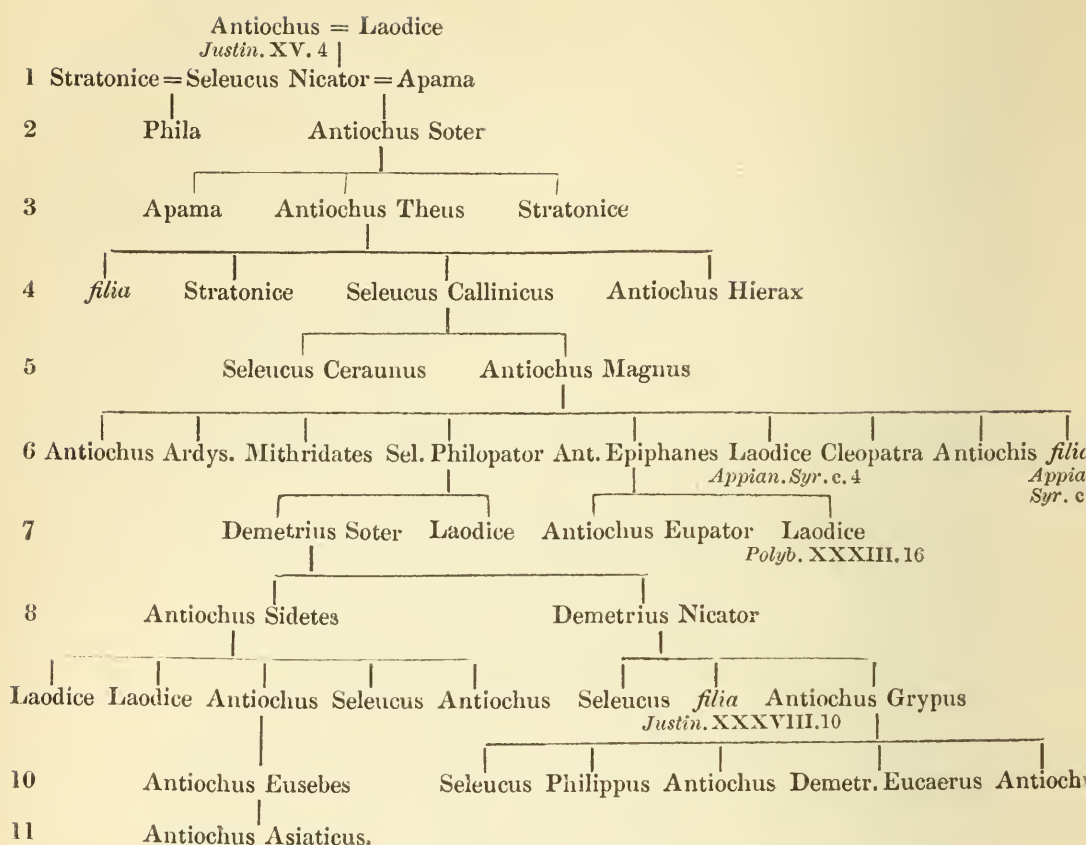
Fenestella, a poet and writer of Annals, flourished in the reign of Augustus, and died towards the close of the reign of Tiberius.

The kings of Macedonia have been already described in a former part of this volume. The other kings exhibited in the following table shall be briefly mentioned below. A larger account of these dynasties will be found in the Appendix to the third volume of the Fasti Hellenici.

MACEDONIA	PERGAMUS	BITHYNIA	PONTUS	SYRIA	EGYPT	CAPPADOCIA
Antig. (44. 283) <i>in Mac.</i> 37y 5m 277	Philetærus 20. 283 Eumenes 22. 263 Attalus I. 44. 241	Nicomedes 278 Ziela Prusias Ziel. [228]	Ariobarz. III. 266 Mithrid. IV [240] Pharnaces [190]	Antioch. Sot. 19. 280 Antioch. Theus 15. 261 Sel. Callin. 20. 246 Sel. Ceraun. 3. 226 Antioch. Magn. 36. 223 Sel. Phil. 12. 187 Ant. Epiph. 11. 175 Ant. Eup. 2. 164 Dem. Sot. 12. 162	Ptol. Phil. 38. 285 Ptol. Everg. 25. 247 Ptol. Philop. 17. 222 Ptol. Epiph. 24. 205 Ptol. Philom. 35. 181	Ariamnes II Ariarath. III. [246] Ariar. IV. 58. 220
Eumenes II. 38. 197		Prusias Ven. [180]		<i>Alex. Bala</i> 4 (5) 150 Dem. Nicat. 146 <i>Diodot. Trypho</i> Ant. Sidetes 9. 137		Ar. V Philop. 32. 162
Attalus Phil. 21. 159		Nicom. Epiph. 58. 149	Mithr. Everg. [156]	Dem. Nic. <i>again</i> 128 Ant. Grypus 10. 123	Ptol. Everg. II. 29. 146 Ptol. Soter 36. 117	Ar. VI (34) 130
Attalus III. 5. 138 — B. C. 133			Mithr. Eup. 57. 120	Gryp. et Cyz. 15. 111 Ant. Cyzic. 1. 96 Seleucus Antioch. Eusebes Philippus <i>Tigranes</i> 14. 83		Ariobarz. I. 30. 93
		Nicom. Philop. 17. 91 — B. C. 74	Pharnaces 16. 63 — B. C. 47	Ant. Asiat. (1. 66)	Cleopatra 21y 5m 51 — B. C. 30	Ariobarz. II. 21. 63 Ariar. VII. 6. 42 Archelaus 50. 36 — A. D. 15



## SELEUCIDÆ.



## § 1 KINGS OF SYRIA.

After the death of Antipater in B. C. 318, Antigonus reigned in Asia till he fell at Ipsus about August 301 in the 18th year of his reign. His son Demetrius Poliorcetes died (as already related) after three years' captivity in the beginning of 283, in the 18th year after the death of his father. Meanwhile SELEUCUS founded the dynasty of the Seleucidæ in Syria in October B. C. 312. He was slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus in January 280, in the 32nd year of his reign.

Antigonus was the oldest of the successors of Alexander. His father was named *Philip*<sup>a</sup>—not however, as some have supposed, the same person as Philip the father of Alexander. For Antigonus, who was born in B. C. 381, was only two years younger than the father of Alexander. Ptolemy was born in 367, and was 11 years older than Alexander. Lysimachus lived 70, 74, or 80 years. The last number is to be

<sup>a</sup> Hieronymus apud Lucian. Macrob. is also recorded by Arrian Exp. Al. I c. 11. Plutarch Demetr. c. 2 probably p. 79 and by Justin XIII. 4. derived this fact from Hieronymus. It

preferred, being attested by his contemporary Hieronymus. The age of Seleucus is also variously reported. He has 72 years in Appian, 75 in Porphyry, and 77 in Justin<sup>b</sup>. Even if the largest of these numbers is adopted, 77 years, Seleucus was the youngest of Alexander's successors, and only one year older than Alexander himself.

The empire of Seleucus included not only Syria but all the countries east of the Euphrates which had belonged to the Persian monarchy. He reigned, says Appian, from Phrygia to the Indus<sup>c</sup>. After the example of Alexander, he diffused Grecian arts and civilisation among the nations which he ruled, and adorned his dominions with numerous cities. The most celebrated of these, Antioch on the Orontes, founded in the 12th year of his reign, continued for ages the capital of Syria, and, after many calamities, was still a great city in A. D. 1098, at the time of the first crusade, 1398 years after its foundation. The next city in importance, Seleucia, built on the western bank of the Tigris, about 40 Roman miles from Babylon, had in the time of Strabo superseded Babylon, and in the time of the elder Pliny, about 360 years from its foundation, contained 600,000 inhabitants, and still observed the institutions of Seleucus<sup>d</sup>.

2 *Antiochus Soter* succeeded in January 280 and reigned 19 years. He was the son of Apama the Persian, who was probably married to Seleucus upon the return of Alexander to Susa in February B. C. 324. Antiochus might have entered his 44th year at his accession in January B. C. 280, and his 63rd at his death in the beginning of 261. He married Stratonice the wife of his father Seleucus, who resigned her to his

<sup>b</sup> The testimonies to the age of Lysimachus are given in F. H. II p. 294, and of Seleucus in p. 293.

<sup>c</sup> See Appian quoted in F. H. III p. 441 c.

<sup>d</sup> Strabo XVI p. 738 records of Babylon after the death of Alexander τῶν δ' ὕστερον οὐδεὶς ἐφρόντισεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὠλιγορήθη, καὶ κατήρειψαν τῆς πόλεως τὰ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ δ' ὁ χρόνος, καὶ ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀλιγωρία περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ τὴν Σελεύκειαν ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρει πλησίον τῆς Βαβυλωνος ἐν τριακοσίοις πού σταδίοις ἐτέλεισε Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες περὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ βασίλειον

ἐνταῦθα μετήνεγκαν. Plin. H. N. VI. 26 *Babylon—in solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatorē intra XC [corrigunt XL] lapidem—libera hodie ac sui juris, Macedonumque moris. Ferunt ei plebis urbanæ sexcenta millia esse, situm vero mœnium aquilæ pendentis alas, agrum totius Orientis fertilissimum.* The wealth, the power and the institutions of Seleucia are described by Tacitus quoted in F. Rom. Vol. 2 p. 251. 252 note v. The cities founded by Seleucus are enumerated in F. H. III p. 352 note i. Among them were 16 Antiochs, and 9 Seleucias.

son about the year 294, at the instances of Erasistratus the physician. Antiochus Soter was slain in an action with the Gauls.

3 *Antiochus Theus*, son of Antiochus and Stratonice, died in the beginning of 246 at the age of 40, after a reign of 15 years. Antiochus had two wives at the same time, the one Laodice, the other Berenice daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He died by poison administered by the order of Laodice, who was jealous of the influence of her rival. Towards the end of this reign, about the year 250, Arsaces founded the Parthian monarchy; and from that epoch the eastern dominions of Seleucus were gradually lost to the Parthian and Bactrian kings.

4 *Seleucus Callinicus* the eldest son of Antiochus and Laodice succeeded through the management of his mother, at whose instigation he slew his stepmother Berenice with her infant son. Ptolemy Evergetes the brother of Berenice, although too late to save his sister's life, invaded Syria and revenged her fate by putting Laodice to death. Seleucus reigned 21 years current from the beginning of B. C. 246 to the middle of 226; but his reign was disturbed by the revolt of his brother Antiochus Hierax. After many battles between the brothers, Hierax was slain in Thrace in the year before the death of Callinicus. In an expedition into Parthia Seleucus sustained a signal defeat, and in a second expedition he was captured, and remained long in captivity.

5 *Seleucus Ceraunus* son of Callinicus was slain after a reign of 3 years about August B. C. 223.

6 *Antiochus Magnus* succeeded his brother Ceraunus in Aug. 223 and died in the latter part of 187 in the 37th year current of his reign.

Antiochus succeeded at an early age, and in the beginning of his reign married Laodice daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus. In 218 he engaged in war with Ptolemy Philopator for Cœle-Syria; in the next year he was defeated at Raphia. In 216, aided by Attalus king of Pergamus, he made war upon Achæus, who was taken after sustaining a siege of two years at Sardis.

Antiochus afterwards engaged in war against Arsaces in Upper Asia, and Euthydemus king of Bactriana, to whom he



granted peace, and confirmed him in his kingdom. Upon the death of Ptolemy Philopator in 205 Antiochus conspired with Philip king of Macedonia to dismember his dominions, and in the campaign of 198 reduced all the cities of Coele-Syria. In his war with the Romans he was overthrown by the consul Acilius at Thermopylæ in 191, and by the Scipios in Asia in 190. After which he made a treaty with the Romans in 188. In the year after this peace Antiochus attempting to plunder a rich temple in the country of the Elymæi, a people who lay between Media and Susiana, was slain by the barbarians<sup>e</sup>.

7 *Seleucus Philopator* son of Antiochus succeeded his father in the latter part of 187, reigned 12 years, and was assassinated by one Heliodorus in the latter part of 175, at about 47 years of age. His daughter Laodice was married to Perseus.

8 *Antiochus Epiphanes* succeeded his brother Philopator, reigned something more than 11 years, and was slain about December B. C. 164.

Antiochus Epiphanes after the death of his sister Cleopatra made war upon his nephew Ptolemy Philometor. His first expedition into Egypt and his first victory was in 171. His second campaign in 170, when he penetrated to Memphis.

In 169 he besieged Alexandria. His last campaign in Egypt was in 168, and in July or August of that year the Roman ambassador Popillius met him a few miles from Alexandria and delivered the message of the senate. Antiochus, disappointed in his designs upon Egypt, marched to Jerusalem and profaned the temple in Apellæus or December B. C. 168. The temple remained three years desolate, and was purified in Apellæus or December 165. Antiochus in the beginning of that year had marched into the Upper Asia, and was slain about December B. C. 164.

9 *Antiochus Eupator*, a child of 9 or 12 years old, reigned 18 months jointly with his father, and after the death of Epiphanes two years, until he was slain by Demetrius about November B. C. 162.

10 *Demetrius Soter*, brother of Epiphanes, escaped from Rome, where he had been a hostage, slew Eupator and his tutor Lysias, and seized the kingdom, being then in his 23rd

<sup>e</sup> Strabo XVI p. 744 Ἀντίοχον μὲν ἐπιχειρήσαντα ἀνείλον ἐπιθέμενοι καθ' οὖν τὸν μέγαν τὸ τοῦ Βήλου συλᾶν ἱερὸν αὐτοὺς οἱ πλεσίον βάρβαροι.

year. After he had acquired the kingdom he was acknowledged by the Romans. In the year 158 he expelled Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. Demetrius was slain in battle by the usurper Bala about August B. C. 150, when he had nearly completed the 12th year of his reign.

11 *Alexander Bala*, or *Balas*, seized upon Ptolemais in B. C. 152, and, aided by Ptolemy and Attalus, defeated and slew Demetrius Soter in 150. In the beginning of B. C. 152 he was acknowledged by the Romans, and set forth from Rome. He was slain in battle near Antioch by Ptolemy Philometor and Demetrius Nicator in November 146, something more than four years after the death of Demetrius Soter.

12 *Demetrius Nicator*, son of *Soter*, came from Crete in B. C. 148 and prevailed against his enemy Alexander in the autumn of 146. In the year 142 king Demetrius made a grant to the Jews, from which they dated their independence, and in 140, two years after that edict, he marched into Upper Asia.

Meanwhile upon the death of Bala Diodotus Trypho produced Antiochus son of Bala in opposition to Demetrius. Trypho afterwards murdered his ward in the beginning of 142, about three years and a half after the death of Bala. But less than four years after the murder of the minor Trypho himself was destroyed in the close of B. C. 139. The space from the death of Bala to the death of Trypho was 7 years.

13 Demetrius entered Parthia about July B. C. 139 and was captured by the Parthians in the close of 138. During his absence his brother *Antiochus Sidetes* had proceeded against Trypho, whom he defeated and slew, as already observed, in the close of 139; and upon the captivity of his brother assumed the kingdom of Syria, which he held nine years. These 9 years were terminated by the return of Demetrius in Oct. 129, and Sidetes was defeated and slain in the spring of B. C. 126.

Demetrius after a captivity of little more than 9 years, or the 10th year current, returned to his kingdom in the autumn of 129, and was slain about February 125, in the 4th year current of his renewed reign. His coins embrace a period of 20 years, from the 167th to the 187th year of the Seleucidæ.

Some were issued before his captivity, some during his captivity, and some after his return.

Alexander Zebina was set up by Ptolemy soon after the return of Demetrius from Parthia. This is established by a coin of Alexander dated in the 184th year of the Seleucidæ. He was slain, or slew himself, in November B. C. 123.

14 *Seleucus* son of Demetrius, who assumed the diadem on the death of his father, was slain by his mother Cleopatra.

15 *Antiochus Grypus* the younger brother of *Seleucus* reigned first jointly with his mother and afterwards alone, till he was dispossessed by Antiochus Cyzicenus, on whose approach he retired to Aspendus. But in the next year returned and recovered the greater part of Syria. Cyzicenus retained only Cœle-Syria.

The last coin of Demetrius Nicator is dated in the 187th year of the era, and the first coin of Grypus is also dated in the 187th year; he therefore received the title of king before the close of the year in which his father died, and Seleucus occupied a very short space between them. The death of Demetrius may be placed in the beginning of B. C. 125 and the accession of Grypus and Cleopatra before the autumn of the same year. The last coin of Grypus was issued in the 216th year of the Seleucidæ, and he reigned 29 years, and died at the age of 45 in the summer of B. C. 96.

These 29 years may be thus distributed. The first three years current were shared by Zebina, who died in the 190th year about November B. C. 123. After his death Grypus held the kingdom for 10 years, till he retired to Aspendus. After his return from thence he reigned 15 years jointly with Cyzicenus, till his death at the close of the 216th year. The intermediate year belonged to Cyzicenus.

Cleopatra appears with Grypus upon coins of the years 187, 188, 189, 190, and 191. The last coin bearing Cleopatra is in this 191st year, and her death occurred between October B. C. 122 and October B. C. 120, about 8 years before the contest between the brothers began.

16 *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, born during the absence of Demetrius in Parthia, began to reign upon the secession of Grypus to Aspendus in the 199th year of the era, when the name of Cyzicenus ap-



pears upon coins. He perished in the 217th year in the middle of B. C. 95, about a year after the death of Grypus. Of this period of 18 years current he reigned 15 jointly with Grypus, and perhaps the first 18 months and the last year alone.

From the death of Cyzicenus in the 217th year B. C. 95 to the occupation of Syria by Pompey in B. C. 65 was a space of 30 years. The first 12 years were employed in the mutual contests of the five sons of Grypus and the son of Cyzicenus. Tigranes the Armenian then reigned 14 years in Syria. After the overthrow of Tigranes, Antiochus Asiaticus the grandson of Cyzicenus returned, and was dispossessed by Pompey.

17 *Seleucus* son of *Grypus* after the death of Cyzicenus reigned a year, and was overthrown by the son of Cyzicenus, and died by his own hand.

18 *Antiochus Eusebes* son of *Cyzicenus* after the death of Seleucus engaged and defeated the twin brothers Antiochus and Philippus, sons of Grypus and Tryphæna. Antiochus was drowned in the Orontes, but Philippus contended with success, and compelled his adversary to take refuge with the Parthians.

19 *Philippus* son of *Grypus*, who reigned over a part of Syria after the death of his twin brother Antiochus, afterwards prevailed against his brother Demetrius by the aid of a body of Parthians. Upon the removal of Demetrius he was attacked by his remaining brother Antiochus. He survived the expulsion of Tigranes from Syria at least 13 years.

20 *Demetrius Eucærus* contended with his brother Philip, but was conquered and fell into the hands of Mithridates II king of Parthia, by whom he was honourably treated till his death.

21 *Antiochus* the remaining son of *Grypus* upon the captivity of Demetrius seized upon Cœle-Syria. He was soon after slain by the Arabs, and after him Aretas king of the Arabs is said to have reigned in Cœle-Syria.

Coins of Demetrius are extant of the 222nd and 224th years of the Seleucidæ. From these dates combined with other accounts we obtain the following positions. Antiochus Cyzicenus died in the 217th year; Demetrius Eucærus began to reign in the 218th, probably towards the end of that year,

the middle of B. C. 94. Seleucus came between them, and his reign of one year is fixed at B. C. 95. During the years 222 and 224 expressed by those coins the competitors Demetrius Philippus and Eusebes were reigning at the same time in different parts of Syria. But Demetrius was not finally expelled by his brother Philip till after October B. C. 89, when the year 224 began.

*Tigranes*, a descendant of Artaxias the general of Antiochus Magnus, occupied Syria in B. C. 83, and held it 14 years till his defeat by Lucullus in B. C. 69, which properly ended his reign in Syria; but 18 years if we compute to the period of his surrender to Pompey in B. C. 66. *Tigranes*, who had reigned in Armenia 25 years in B. C. 71, was still living in the year 56, and accordingly reigned in Armenia at least 40 years, B. C. 96—56.

22 *Antiochus Asiaticus*, a son of *Antiochus Eusebes* and *Selene*, after the death of his father attended at Rome in B. C. 75 or 74, and after two years at Rome passed through Sicily about B. C. 73 or 72. He introduced himself into Syria in B. C. 69, when the forces of *Tigranes* were withdrawn. From that date for four years current, to the close of the first campaign of Pompey in 66, when peace was granted to *Tigranes*, *Asiaticus* was not disturbed by Lucullus: after this, during the command of Pompey in Asia, he reigned for a single year, B. C. 66, till Pompey expelled him in 65. In that year the *Seleucidæ* ceased to reign, although the final settlement of Syria was not completed till two or three years afterwards. Syria was occupied by the forces of Pompey in B. C. 65. He was present there himself in 64. The final arrangement of the province might be gradual during the presence of Pompey there in B. C. 64—62, partly before the Jewish war, and partly after it. Pompey at his departure in 62 left *Seaurus* in the government, who was succeeded by *Philippus*, and *Philippus* by *Lentulus*. After this, proconsuls were sent, of whom *Gabinus* was the first. *Philippus* and *Lentulus* governed Syria each two years, and filled the interval B. C. 61—58 till the arrival of *Gabinus*.

Pompey terminated the reign of the *Seleucidæ* in the 247th year, which commenced in October 66. *Antiochus Asiaticus*, the last of this dynasty, is called the 17th king derived from

Seleucus. Adding the four brothers of Seleucus son of Grypus, and including Antiochus Hierax, we obtain 22 as the number of the descendants of Seleucus who reigned in Syria.

The annexed Table gives a short view of the dates which have been explained in the preceding account, and will shew the actual or probable date of each reign, and of some material facts, together with the Olympic year and the year of the era upon which that date would fall.

	y.	Ol.	A. S.	B. C.
<i>Seleucus Nicator</i> .....	32	117. 1		Oct. 312
<i>Antiochus Soter</i> .....	19	124. 4	32	Jan. 280
<i>Antiochus Theus</i> .....	15	129. 3	51	(Jan.) 261
<i>Seleucus Callinicus</i> .....	21	20 133. 2	66	(Jan.) 246
<i>Seleucus Ceraunus</i> .....	3	138. 3	86	(Aug.) 226
<i>Antiochus Magnus</i> .....	36	139. 2	89	(Aug.) 223
<i>Seleucus Philopator</i> .....	12	148. 2	126	(Oct.) 187
<i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i> .....	11	151. 2	137*	(Aug.) 175
<i>Antiochus Eupator</i> .....	2	154. 1	149	(Dec.) 164
<i>Demetrius Soter</i> .....	12	154. 3	151	(Nov.) 162
<i>Alexander Bala</i> .....	5	157. 3	162	(Aug.) 150
<i>Demetrius Nicator</i> comes from Crete..		158. 1	165	148
<i>Demetrius Nicator</i> ( <i>Antiochus</i> and <i>Trypho</i> )		158. 3	167	Nov. 146
<i>Antiochus</i> murdered by <i>Trypho</i> .....		159. 2	170	Feb. 142
Grant of <i>Demetrius</i> to the Jews ....		159. 2	170*	142
<i>Demetrius Nicator</i> ....				
<i>Demetrius</i> marches into Upper Asia ..		159. 4	172	140
Death of <i>Trypho</i> .....		160. 2	174	(Nov.) 139
Captivity of <i>Demetrius</i> .....		160. 3	175	(Nov.) 138
<i>Antiochus Sidetes</i> .....	9	160. 3	175	(Feb.) 137
invades Judæa.....		161. 2	178	(Feb.) 134
grants peace to the Jews .....		161. 4	180	(Oct.) 133
his Parthian war .....		162. 3	183	May 129
<i>Demetrius</i> returns from captivity ....		162. 4	184	(Oct.) 129
<i>Demetrius Nicator</i> again .....				Feb. 128
death of <i>Demetrius</i> .....		163. 3	187	Feb. 125
<i>Antiochus Grypus</i> .....		163. 4	187	(Aug.) 125
death of <i>Zebina</i> .....		164. 2	190	(Nov.) 123
reign of <i>Grypus</i> .....	10	164. 2	190	(Nov.) 123
death of <i>Cleopatra</i> .....		164. 4	192	121
<i>Antiochus Cyzicenus</i> .....		166. 3	199	114
<i>Grypus</i> withdraws to Aspendus.....		166. 4	(199)	(Aug.) 113
<i>Antiochus Cyzicenus</i> alone .....	1	166. 4	200	112
<i>Grypus</i> and <i>Cyzicenus</i> .....	15	167. 1	201	111
death of <i>Grypus</i> .....		170. 4	216	96
<i>Cyzicenus</i> alone .....	1	170. 4	216	96
death of <i>Cyzicenus</i> .....		171. 1	217	95
<i>Antiochus Eusebes</i> and <i>Philippus</i> .....				
<i>Philippus</i> .....				
[end of the <i>Seleucidæ</i> ] .....				
<i>Tigranes</i> .....	14	174. 1	229	83
<i>Antiochus Asiaticus</i> goes to Rome....				75
<i>Tigranes</i> expelled by <i>Lucullus</i> .....		177. 3	243	69
<i>Antiochus Asiaticus</i> .....	4	177. 3	243	69
expelled by <i>Pompey</i> .....		178. 3	247	65
final settlement of Syria .....		179. 2	250	62
<i>Philippus</i> still living .....		180. 3	255	57
death of <i>Asiaticus</i> .....		182. 3	263	cir. 49



## § 2 KINGS OF BACTRIANA.

The Greek kingdom of Bactriana was founded at the same time with the Parthian, and subsisted for about 120 or 130 years under seven or eight kings.

1 *Theodotus I*, the præfect of Bactria, at the time of the revolt of Arsaces proclaimed himself king.

2 *Theodotus II*, son of the first king, made peace with the first Arsaces; from which we collect that Theodotus I had a short reign.

3 *Euthydemus*, a Magnesian by birth, carried on war against Antiochus the Great. These three kings, Theodotus I Theodotus II and Euthydemus, probably occupied a space of about 50 years, B. C. 250—200.

4 *Demetrius* son of *Euthydemus*.

5 *Menander* made extensive conquests to the east and to the south of Bactriana.

6 *Apollodotus* is mentioned with Menander as king of Bactriana, but whether he preceded or followed Menander is not clearly shewn.

7 *Eucratides I*.

8 *Eucratides II*.

Justin and Strabo describe Eucratides I, a warlike prince, the master of a thousand cities, who was the contemporary of Mithridates I king of Parthia, and was assassinated by his son, also named Eucratides. And Strabo describes an Eucratides who was despoiled of his provinces by the Parthians, and finally lost his kingdom to the Scythians. Between Arsaces II, who was contemporary with Euthydemus, and Mithridates I, who was contemporary with Eucratides I, were two kings of Parthia, who seem to have been contemporary with Demetrius Menander and Apollodotus. Eucratides II, in whom the Bactrian monarchy ended, appears to be no other than the son of Eucratides I, whom Justin records as his father's murderer. These four or five last kings would extend the duration of the kingdom 70 or 80 years longer, which would terminate at B. C. 130 or 120. Rennell observes that the eastern dependencies of Bactriana subsisted to a much later period.

## § 3 MACEDONIAN MONTHS.

The Macedonian months which were adopted by the Syro-Macedonian cities, and generally by the Greek cities of Asia, after the time of Alexander, were lunar till the reformation of the Roman calendar by Cæsar. After that reformation the Greek cities of Asia, which had then become subject to the Roman empire, gradually adopted the Julian year. But although they followed the Romans in computing by the solar Julian year of 365<sup>d</sup> 6<sup>h</sup> instead of the lunar, yet they made no alteration in the season at which their year began or in the order of the months. They continued to date the beginning of the year from the autumn, some cities computing from the autumnal equinox itself, others a little later. During the whole reign however of the Seleucidæ the lunar months were used by the Syrian cities, and were adjusted to the solar year by the same expedients as the Attic.

The order of the Macedonian months may be gathered from Josephus and Suidas, who compare them with the Hebrew and Roman; but with this difference, that Josephus compares them with lunar months and Suidas with those of the Julian year. As the Macedonian year began in autumn and the Hebrew in spring, the first Macedonian month would correspond with the 8th Hebrew, and the two calendars would stand in the following order.

Macedonian.	Hebrew.	
1 <i>Dius</i> . . . . .	8 <i>Marchesvan</i> . . .	Oct. and Nov.
2 <i>Apellæus</i> . . . .	9 <i>Casleu</i> . . . . .	Nov. and Dec.
3 <i>Audynæus</i> . . . .	10 <i>Tebeth</i> . . . . .	Dec. and Jan.
4 <i>Peritius</i> . . . . .	11 <i>Shebat</i> . . . . .	Jan. and Feb.
5 <i>Dystrus</i> . . . . .	12 <i>Adar</i> . . . . .	Feb. and March
6 <i>Xanthicus</i> . . . .	1 <i>Nisan</i> . . . . .	March and Ap.
7 <i>Artemisius</i> . . .	2 <i>Ijar</i> or <i>Zif</i> . . .	Ap. and May
8 <i>Dæsius</i> . . . . .	3 <i>Sivan</i> . . . . .	May and June
9 <i>Panemus</i> . . . .	4 <i>Thamuz</i> . . . . .	June and July
10 <i>Loüs</i> . . . . .	5 <i>Ab</i> . . . . .	July and Aug.
11 <i>Gorpiæus</i> . . . .	6 <i>Elul</i> . . . . .	Aug. and Sept.
12 <i>Hyperberetæus</i>	7 <i>Tisri</i> or <i>Ethanim</i>	Sept. and Oct.

1 *Dius*. The first Macedonian month, for Hyperberetæus

was the last. And this is confirmed by the station of the intercalary month, which in the lunar year of the ancients was placed at the end of the year. But Frœlich has shewn from the second book of Maccabees that the Macedonian intercalary was placed after Hyperberetæus. It followed Hyperberetæus and preceded Dios. Whence we learn that Hyperberetæus was the last month and Dios the first in the lunar year of the Macedonians. At Gaza, which had adopted the Macedonian months, Dios was the first, by the testimony of Marcus of Gaza.

Galen, describing the year at Pergamus as it stood after the solar year of Cæsar had been adopted, attests that the cardinal points were fixed at Pergamus in this manner.

1st *Dios*—Sept. 24

1st *Peritius*—Dec. 24

1st *Artemisius*—March 25

1st *Lous*—June 25.

But during the use of the lunar year the beginning of the month would fluctuate like the beginning of the Attic. Testimonies in Ptolemy establish that in the year of Nabonassar 504 commencing Oct. 23 B. C. 245, the Chaldæan year 67, the 1st of Dios fell upon the 15th of October; that in N. E. 512 commencing Oct. 21 B. C. 237, the Chaldæan year 75, the 1st of Dios was at the 16th of October. But he also shews that in N. E. 519, which began Oct. 20 B. C. 230, the Chaldæan year 82, Dios commenced on the 1st of October.

Dodwell imagines from these last numbers that a change had been made in the Macedonian year between B. C. 237 and 230. But he has imagined a difficulty when there was in reality none. For the Macedonian year being then lunar, as Dodwell admits, fell annually back about eleven days till the intercalary year again carried it forward. Now, if it should have happened that this year N. E. 519 was intercalary, the beginning of the year would have fallen back 11 days. As in the Metonic Tables of Dodwell in Ol. 108. 4 the Attic year began upon July 15 and in Ol. 109. 1 upon July 4, in the same manner and for the same reason the Macedonian year in N. E. 518 might commence at Oct. 12, and in 519 at Oct. 1.



Dodwell indeed assumes that the Macedonians had adopted the Cycle of Calippus, and that the year which corresponded to N. E. 519 was on that account necessarily an *annus communis*. But of this there is no proof. It has been already shewn in a former part of this work that the Athenians themselves did not immediately adopt the cycle of Calippus, or change the order of Meton. It is still less likely that the Macedonians should precisely in Ol. 112. 3, as Dodwell determines, have remodelled their calendar by the Calippic period. Nor has Dodwell produced any arguments to shew that, when the Macedonians did adopt the cycle, their months concurred in perfect uniformity with the Attic, or that the Macedonian and the Attic cycles were connumerary. The *ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρὶς* of Meton and Calippus was composed of a series of years which took their beginning from the summer solstice; the Macedonian year began at the autumnal equinox. The Athenians intercalated at the end of the sixth month of their year, the Macedonians at the end of the twelfth; the Attic intercalary month was in the winter, the Macedonian in the autumn; and, according to the mode adopted of measuring the two calendars, would either precede the Attic intercalary by three months, or be nine months after it. In this latter case, for ten months of an intercalary year the Macedonian and Attic months could never run together in their accustomed order, nor could the intercalary months of the two calendars ever fall within the same Attic year. It may be presumed, then, that whenever the Macedonians adopted the Metonic cycle, or the Calippic correction of it, they adapted it to their own year without any reference to the Attic; nor can it be pronounced without direct evidence in what particular Attic year a Macedonian intercalation might fall.

Dodwell, then, has produced no arguments to shew why we should adopt an arrangement founded upon conjecture, and reject the plain and obvious interpretation of Ptolemy, which makes the year corresponding to N. E. 519 an intercalary year in the Syro-Macedonian calendar.

According to the Metonic cycle the three years described by Ptolemy as 67, 75, and 82 of the Chaldæans, commencing respectively Oct. 15 Oct. 16 and Oct. 1, would be the 9th, the

17th, and the 5th of the cycle of Meton, as in the following Table.

<i>Chaldaean years.</i>	<i>Years of cycle.</i>
N. E. 504. 67	9 commenced Oct. 15
68	10 . . . . . Oct. 5
69	11 B. . . . . Sept. 24
70 <i>Bisext.</i>	12 . . . . . Oct. 13
71 . . . . .	13 B. . . . . Oct. 1
72 . . . . .	14 . . . . . Oct. 20
73 . . . . .	15 . . . . . Oct. 9
74 <i>Bisext.</i>	16 B. . . . . Sept. 28
N. E. 512. 75 . . . . .	17 . . . . . Oct. 16
76 . . . . .	18 . . . . . Oct. 5
77 . . . . .	19 B. . . . . Sept. 25
N. E. 515. 78 <i>Bisext.</i>	1 . . . . . Oct. 15
79 . . . . .	2 . . . . . Oct. 4
80 . . . . .	3 B. . . . . Sept. 23
81 . . . . .	4 . . . . . Oct. 12
N. E. 519. 82 <i>Bisext.</i>	5 B. . . . . Oct. 1

According to this scheme, which gives N. E. 515 for the first year of a cycle, the Macedonians received the cycle in the ninth year of a Metonic *ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρὶς*, which would be the second of a Calippic. And this is confirmed by other testimony. For the 148th year of the *Seleucidæ* N. E. 584 was an intercalary year. But, if N. E. 515 was the first year of a cycle, N. E. 584 would be the 13th, and the 13th was intercalary. This testimony therefore precisely agrees with the arrangement obtained from Ptolemy, but effectually disproves the opinion of Dodwell. For, if the Macedonians had begun their cycle with Calippus in Ol. 112. 3 N. E. 419, as Dodwell supposes, this year N. E. 584 would have been the 14th of a cycle, and the 14th year was an *annus communis*.

Josephus compares *Dius* with the Hebrew *Marchesvan*. After the Julian year had been established in Asia, *Dius* in some cities corresponded with November. According to Epiphanius the 8th of *Dius* was the 8th of November. Eusebius attests that in Palestine in the reign of Diocletian the 13th 17th and 20th of *Dius* were the 13th 17th and 20th of November. In the Paschal Chronicle *Dius* and November are conumerary.

2 *Apellæus*. In Suidas and the Paschal Chronicle Apellæus is December, and the Chronicle attests that the 24th of Apellæus is the 24th of December. Josephus compares Apellæus with the ninth Hebrew month Casleu. He always considers the days of the Jewish and Macedonian months to be connumerary. The 25th of Apellæus is the 25th of Casleu. In the time of Moses the 14th of Nisan is the 14th of Xanthicus. The "14th of Adar" in the book of Esther is the 14th of Dystrus. The "10th day of the fifth month" in Jeremiah is in Josephus the 10th of Lous. This practice was always inaccurate. In his own time, when the Macedonian months were solar, there would be the same variation between these and the Hebrew, which were still lunar, as between the Attic months and the Julian. In earlier times, when both calendars were lunar and moveable, they would vary in proportion as the modes and times of intercalation were different. The same variations would occur as in the Corinthian months compared with the Attic; when, according to Plutarch, the 3rd of Boedromion coincided with the 27th of Panemus. Josephus however seems to have intended nothing more than to express the notation of days according to the lunar months of the Hebrews, and to have been satisfied with calling Hebrew months by Macedonian names. Hence by an anticipation he gives to the months of the time of Moses Macedonian names before the Macedonian months existed. Vitellius was slain according to Josephus on the 3rd of Apellæus. The death of this emperor is determined by Norisius to the 20th of December A. D. 69. This month therefore began on the 18th of December. But as Apellæus of the solar Julian year then established did not begin on that day, we must suppose that Josephus on this occasion according to his usual practice described by a Grecian name the lunar Hebrew month Casleu.

Epiphanius comparing the 8th of November with the months of other nations gives the following account: "According to the Egyptians the 12th of Athyr is the 8th of November, being according to the *Hellenes* the 8th of Dios, at Salamis in Cyprus the 6th of Chœac III, at Paphos the 16th of Apogonistus, according to the Arabians the 22nd of Angalthabaeth, among the Macedonians the 16th of Apellæus, among the Cappadocians the 15th of Aratatas, at Athens the 7th of



Metagitnion, among the Hebrews the 7th of Marchesvan." By this account Dios according to the *Hellenes* began Nov. 1 and Apellæus according to the Macedonians began Oct. 24. Epiphanius therefore intended by *Hellenes* to express the Greeks of Syria, and especially of Antioch; by *Macedones* the Greeks of Asia Minor, and especially of Pergamus, where Apellæus began on the 24th of October. He at the same time compares the 6th of January with the corresponding days of other months. "The 6th of January is in Egypt the 11th of Tybí, according to the Syrians or *Hellenes* the 6th of Audynæus, at Salamis in Cyprus the 5th of the 5th month, at Paphos the 14th of Iulus, among the Arabians the 21st of Aleom, among the Cappadocians the 13th of Aḡartas, according to the Hebrews the 13th of Tebeth, at Athens the 6th of Mæmacterion<sup>f</sup>." It appears then that among the Syrian Greeks the 1st of Audynæus was the 1st of January.

<sup>f</sup> The months in the first passage of Epiphanius begin in this manner:

Athyr, 3rd Egyptian.....	Oct. 28
Dios, first Macedonian.....	Nov. 1
Chœac III, the 3rd month } at Salamis.....	Nov. 3
Apogonistus.....	Oct. 24
Angalthabaeth.....	Oct. 18
Apellæus.....	Oct. 24
Aratatas.....	Oct. 25
Metagitnion the 2nd Attic..	Nov. 2
Marchesvan, the 8th Hebrew.	Nov. 2

The months named in the second passage begin thus:

Tybi, the 5th Egyptian ....	Dec. 27
Audynæus the 3rd Macedonian	Jan. 1
The 5th month at Salamis ..	Jan. 2
Iulus.....	Dec. 24
Aleom.....	Dec. 17
Aḡartas.....	Dec. 25
Tebeth, the 10th Hebrew....	Dec. 25
Mæmacterion.....	Jan. 1

The Egyptian months here quoted are months of the fixed Alexandrian year which commenced Aug. 29. The Cyprian months also appear to be adapted to the Julian calendar, and we may infer that the 1st month at Salamis in Cyprus began Sept. 3. The Attic Metagitnion commencing Nov. 2 and Mæmacterion Jan. 1, it appears that Hecatombeon would begin Oct. 3, and that Mæmacterion was now become the 4th month in order. Whence we may collect that in the time of Epiphanius the

Attic year was adapted to the Julian, and that its beginning was now fixed to Oct. 2 or 3 in agreement with the fixed year of the Asiatic Greeks. But this position of the month Mæmacterion in A. D. 376 is no argument against the order of the months at Athens, while the moveable year remained in use.

The moveable Egyptian months are described in F. H. II p. 328. The fixed Alexandrian months coincided thus with the Roman:

1 Thoth began.....	Aug. 29
2 Phaophi.....	Sept. 28
3 Athyr.....	Oct. 28
4 Chœac.....	Nov. 27
5 Tybi.....	Dec. 27
6 Mechir.....	Jan. 26
7 Pharmuthi.....	Feb. 25
8 Pharmuthi.....	March 27
9 Pachon.....	April 26
10 Payni.....	May 26
11 Epiphi.....	June 25
12 Mesore.....	July 25
1st τῶν ἐπαγομένων ....	Aug. 24

6th τῶν ἐπαγομένων, the 366th day, in intercalary years Aug. 29, and the Thoth of the following year began at Aug. 30. It appears from Theophilus quoted in F. Rom. vol. I A. D. 404 p. 557 that in a Roman *Bissextile* year the months after February coincided with the same days of the fixed Egyptian months, with which they corresponded in an *annus communis*. Whence it fol-

3 *Audynæus* is compared with January in Suidas Eusebius and the Paschal Chronicle. The 11th of Audynæus is the 11th of January in Eusebius, and the 6th of Audynæus is the 6th of January in Epiphanius.

4 *Peritius*. Suidas and the Paschal Chronicle mark that Peritius is February. Hieronymus observes that the Hebrew month Shebat (which was in midwinter) is called Mechir by the Egyptians, Peritius by the Macedonians, and February by the Romans. In Eusebius the 16th of Peritius is the 16th of February. Peritius corresponded thus with February after the Julian year had been adopted; and this is to be understood of the other references in Eusebius and Suidas and other writers after the Christian era, with the exception of Josephus. Peritius in the time of Galen was the 4th month at Pergamus, and began at the winter solstice Dec. 24. It agreed therefore after the reception of the Julian year with January at Pergamus, but with February at Antioch.

5 *Dystrus*. Suidas observes that Dystrus is March. Eusebius reckons the 24th of Dystrus to be the 24th of March, and the 7th of Dystrus to be the 7th of March. In the Paschal Chronicle the 25th of Dystrus was the 25th of March. At Antioch therefore and at Cæsarea in Palestine the days of Dystrus and of March were conumerary. Josephus makes Dystrus coincide with the 12th Hebrew month Adar.

6 *Xanthicus*. In Suidas and the Paschal Chronicle Xanthicus is April. Eusebius makes the days of Xanthicus conumerary with the days of April. This was the computation at Antioch according to Evagrius. Lydus, who follows the computation of Pergamus, observes that March is Xanthicus among the Macedonians. Josephus compares Xanthicus with Nisan. When therefore he names the 14th of Xanthi-

lows that the year which was current with a Roman *Bissextile* commenced at Aug. 30; and that the intercalary day, the 6th τῶν ἐπαγομένων, was inserted at the end of that Egyptian year which preceded the Roman *Bissextile*. In those years the fixed Alexandrian was measured thus with the Julian:

6th τῶν ἐπαγομ. . . . . Aug. 29  
Thoth began . . . . . Aug. 30  
Phaophi. . . . . Sept. 29  
Athyr. . . . . Oct. 29

Chœac . . . . . Nov. 28  
Tybi . . . . . Dec. 28  
Mechir . . . . . Jan. 27  
Phamenoth . . . . Feb. 26 *Bissext.*  
Pharmuthi. . . . . Mar. 27  
Pachon. . . . . Ap. 26  
Payni. . . . . May 26  
Epiphi . . . . . June 25  
Mesore . . . . . July 25  
1st τῶν ἐπαγομ. . . . Aug. 24  
Thoth . . . . . Aug. 29

cus in the time of the Jewish war, he expresses the 14th of Nisan.

7 *Artemisius*. Suidas, Evagrius, Malalas and the Paschal Chronicle attest that Artemisius was May; and in the Chronicle the 11th of Artemisius is the 11th of May. Artemisius in the age of Galen was the 7th month at Pergamus, and began at the vernal equinox March 25. It coincided with April at Pergamus and with May at Antioch.

Epiphanius makes the 23rd of Artemisius coincide with the 16th of May. The 1st of Artemisius accordingly fell upon April 24. Hence Norisius justly collects that among the people to whom Epiphanius refers in this passage the first month Dios would begin on the 24th of October..

Josephus compares Artemisius with the Hebrew Ijar.

8 *Dæsius* is June in Suidas and the Paschal Chronicle. In Eusebius the 8th of Dæsius is the 8th of June. In A. D. 325 at the council of Nice the 19th of Dæsius is also the 19th of June. Dæsius according to Josephus was a summer month. In his account of the siege of Jotapata he computes nearly 47 days from the 16th or 17th of Artemisius to the 1st of Panemus; and it appears from his enumeration that Dæsius came between.

9 *Panemus* is July in Suidas, Evagrius, the Paschal Chronicle, Malalas. Eusebius reckons the 25th of Panemus to be the 25th of July. Panemus among the Macedonian Greeks in the time of Callimachus had 30 days. At Antioch after the reception of the Julian year it coincided with July and had 31 days.

Josephus, when he names Panemus in the Jewish war, describes by this name the corresponding lunar month of the Hebrews.

10 *Lous* is August in Suidas Evagrius and the Paschal Chronicle. Josephus compares Lous with the Hebrew Ab and the Attic Hecatombæon, describing the Hebrew month by those months in the Attic and Macedonian calendars with which it afterwards corresponded. When he names Lous on other occasions, without expressing the Hebrew month, this may be understood. The 15th of Lous means in Josephus the 15th of Ab, as the 10th of Lous means the 10th of Ab. Plutarch observes that "Alexander was born on the 6th of Hecatombæon, which the Macedonians called Lous," where he



merely intends to express that these two months for the most part corresponded. The days of Lous and of Hecatombæon could never be always and uniformly conumerary, while both months were lunar, on account of the different time of intercalation in the Attic and Macedonian years. Still less could they be conumerary in the time of Plutarch, when the Macedonian year had become solar, while the lunar year was still in use at Athens.

The emperor Julian attests that Lous was the 10th month at Antioch, and Galen marks it as the 10th month at Pergamus, where it began at the summer solstice June 25th. At Tyre the 28th of Lous fell upon the 16th of September; and the 10th of Peritius was the 25th of February. The 1st of Lous was therefore the 20th of August, and the 1st of Peritius the 16th of February; and the month Dios began at Tyre Nov. 18th, 55 days later than it began at Pergamus, and 17 days later than it began at Antioch, where Dios coincided with November.

11 *Gorpiæus* is September in Suidas and Evagrius, and we collect from the Paschal Chronicle that the 1st of *Gorpiæus* was the 1st of September at Antioch. *Gorpiæus* therefore concurred with August at Pergamus, but with September at Antioch.

Josephus in his account of the siege of Jerusalem enumerates Xanthicus, Artemisius, Panemus, Lous, *Gorpiæus*; and *Dæsius*, though not named, is implied in his narrative between Artemisius and Panemus. For between the 29th of Artemisius and the 1st of Panemus he specifies 23 days. These 23 days belonged to the month *Dæsius*. His journal of the siege in A. D. 70 may be disposed in this manner.

Xanthicus 14 Passover. The Romans encamped against the city.

23 Works begun.

Artemisius 7 First or outer wall gained.

12 Breach made in the second wall.

29 Works finished for the attack of the old wall.

[*Dæsius* 1] Works destroyed by the besieged two days after.

4] A wall of circumvallation finished in three days.

9] New works begun against the old wall.

- Panemus 1 New works finished after 21 days' labour.  
           3 Assault attempted on fort Antonia.  
           5 Fort Antonia taken.  
          17 Fort Antonia begun to be levelled.  
          24 Outer porticoes of the Temple burnt.  
          27 Successful sally made by the besieged.  
          28 North portico burnt.
- Lous 8 Works completed for battering the old wall.  
          10 Temple burnt.  
          20 Works for the attack of the upper city.
- Gorpiæus 7 Works finished in 18 days.  
           8 Last wall taken.

Usher considers the dates of Josephus as equivalent to the days of the Julian year. He supposes the 14th of Xanthicus to be the 14th of April, and the 12th of Artemisius the 12th of May. The 5th of Panemus he calls the 5th of July, the 10th of Lous the 10th of August, and the 8th of Gorpiæus the 8th of September. But it has been shewn that Josephus on other occasions adapts the Macedonian names to the Hebrew months, and it may be discerned in this narrative that he intended to express lunar months, and to describe the Hebrew months by Macedonian names. The 14th of Xanthicus is no other than the 14th of Nisan, the 10th of Lous is the 10th of Ab, and the narrative implies that Lous, which afterwards corresponded to August, had only 30 days.

Norisius rejects the interpretation of Usher, admits that the 10th of Lous was the 10th of Ab, and argues that the 10th of Ab in that year would fall upon the 5th of August. Usher indeed infers from Dio that the city was destroyed on a Sabbath, and thence collects that the 8th of Gorpiæus was the 8th of September, which fell in that year on a Sabbath day. But Fabricius, who follows Norisius, justly observes that the silence of Josephus upon this point invalidates the account of Dio.

12 *Hyperberetæus*. Suidas the Paschal Chronicle, and Malalas attest that Hyperberetæus was October. At Antioch the 15th of October was the 15th of Hyperberetæus. But at Pergamus in the time of Galen Hyperberetæus is September.

Josephus gives the name of Hyperberetæus to the lunar Hebrew month Tisri.

When the Syrian and Asiatic Greeks adopted the Julian year, and commenced their year from a fixed point, they did not all agree in the same day. We have seen that *Dius* began at Pergamus Sept. 24, but that it began at Tyre Nov. 18, and Nov. 1 at Antioch and Cæsarea. One probable cause of this variation in some cities may have been that, when the lunar year was changed for the Julian, the moveable lunar months were fixed to the station which they happened to occupy when the change was made.

Down to the time of the Julian year *Dius* was the first Macedonian month; and we have seen from Galen that it still continued to be the first at Pergamus. From Suidas and Julian we collect that at Antioch *Dius* was the first month, and that the solar year at Antioch began with November.

Norisius agrees with Petavius Usher and others in placing the era of Antioch in the autumn of U. C. Varr. 705 B. C. 49, but he supposes *Hyperberetæus* or October to be the first month at Antioch, because he had imagined that the year at Antioch began with that month; and he endeavours to obtain evidence to this purpose from some of the testimonies upon which he fixes the era. Usher supposed the era to commence in September or *Gorpiæus*. Scaliger and Petavius date from *Hyperberetæus*, and Corsini agrees in this month. But no evidence is produced to fix *Hyperberetæus* as the beginning of the year at Antioch, and it may be demonstrated that none of the testimonies which place the epoch in U. C. Varr. 705 contain any arguments for determining that era to September or October rather than to November, and all of them are consistent with November for the first month of the Antiochian year, which would be equivalent to *Dius* after the solar year was adopted. The era began three years before the reformation of the Roman calendar, and consequently the lunar year was still in use at Antioch, and the position of *Dius* still varied after the era had commenced.

The chief testimonies are these.

1 A coin of Galba: on the reverse ἐπὶ Μουκτανοῦ Ἀντιοχείων ἔτ. ζρ. *anno* 117. Galba was slain Jan. A. D. 69. But U. C. 705 + 116 = autumn U. C. 821 A. D. 68. And if the 117th year commenced in autumn A. D. 68 U. C. 821, the first commenced in autumn B. C. 49 U. C. 705.



2 A coin of Tiberius: on the reverse ἐπὶ Φλάκκου Ἀντιοχέων βπ. *anno* 82. Flaccus proprætor of Syria died at the close of A. D. 33. But U. C. 705 + 81 = U. C. 786 A. D. 33; in the autumn of which the 82nd year would commence in which Flaccus died. The era then did not begin later than the autumn of U. C. 705, or the 82nd year would have fallen after the death of Flaccus. But still here is no proof that it began in September or October rather than November.

3 The Nicene Council was held *anno* 636<sup>o</sup> *æra* *Alexandri*, *qui fuit* 373<sup>us</sup> *æra* *Antiochenæ*, *nono mensis Haziran* : = June A. D. 325 U. C. 1078. But U. C. 705 + 372 = U. C. 1077 and the 373rd year began in autumn U. C. 1077.

4 According to Evagrius, Justin became emperor on the 9th of Panemus or July in the year of Antioch 566. The same date is given by the Paschal Chronicle: ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰουστίνος ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας Μάγνου, μηνὶ Πανέμῳ τῷ καὶ Ἰουλλίῳ θ' χρηματίζοντος κατ' αὐτοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς τῆς Συρίας ἔτους 566. Magnus was consul in A. D. 518 U. C. 1271. And U. C. 705 + 565 = 1270 and the 566th year commenced in autumn U. C. 1270 A. D. 517.

5 Justinian reigned with Justin on the 1st of Xanthicus or April in the year of Antioch 575. The same date is in the Paschal Chronicle: συνεβασίλευσεν Ἰουστινιανὸς—μηνὶ Ξανθικῷ, κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Ἀπριλλίῳ α'. τοῦ εοφ' ἔτους Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας, ὑπατίας τοῦ προκειμένου Μαβορτίου Ῥωμαίου. = April A. D. 527. But U. C. 705 + 574 = 1279 and the 575th year begins in autumn A. D. 526 U. C. 1279.

6 The Paschal Chronicle: μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον Κωνστάντιος Αὔγουστος μηνὶ Δίῳ γ', ἔτους Ἀντιοχείας υ', ὑπάτων Ταύρου καὶ Φλωρεντίου. These were consuls of U. C. 1114 A. D. 361. But 705 + 409 = 1114. The 409th year therefore was completed, and the 410th begun, before the 3rd of Dios or November A. D. 361. This supplies no argument for the commencement of the year in Hyperberetæus. The 410th year might commence on the 1st of Dios.

7 According to Malalas, Constantinople was dedicated on the 11th of Artemisius or May in the year of Antioch 378. The Paschal Chronicle places this in the consulship of Gallicanus and Symmachus, who were consuls A. D. 330 U. C. 1083. But 705 + 377 = 1082 and the 378th year begins in autumn U. C. 1082 A. D. 329.

8 Julian was slain according to Malalas on the 26th of Dæsius or June in the year of Antioch 411. His death occurred A. D. 363 U. C. 1116. But  $705 + 410 = 1115$  and in autumn of U. C. 1115 the 411th year commences.

9 It appears also from Malalas that Leo junior was consul in the year of Antioch 522, and died in the 11th month of his consulship in November of the year 523. Leo junior Augustus was consul in A. D. 474 U. C. 1227. But  $705 + 522 = 1227$ . The 522nd year, then, had ended and the 523rd had commenced in November A. D. 474, and the death of Leo may be placed in the first month of the 523rd year.

10 Lastly, Malalas fixes the death of the emperor Zeno to the 9th of Xanthicus or April in the year of Antioch 539. Zeno died in A. D. 491. But  $705 + 538 = 1243 =$  A. D. 490. and the 539th year begins in autumn A. D. 490 U. C. 1243.

These testimonies fix the year of the era, and some of them determine it to the autumn. But no proof can be drawn from any of these to shew that the Antiochian year did not begin with Dios or November.

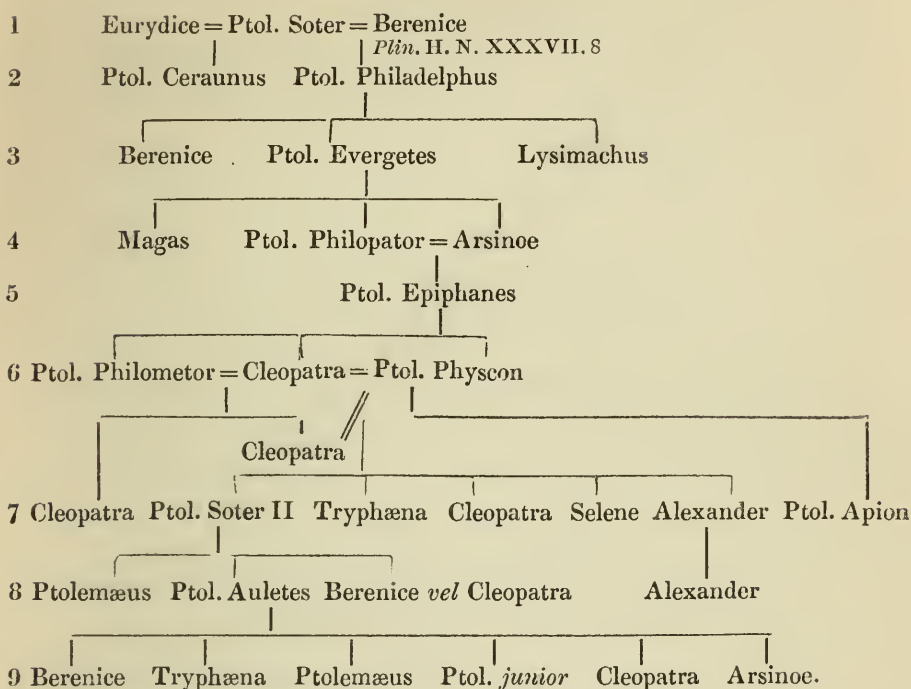
The era of the Seleucidæ commenced in the autumn of B. C. 312. Many testimonies to this date, equivalent to U. C. Varr. 442, are produced by Norisius, which are given in *Fast. Hellen.* Vol. 3 p. 368 = p. 372—374.

It appears from Ptolemy already quoted that the Chaldæans began their era one year later than the era of the Seleucidæ. The 67th year of the Chaldæans was the 68th of the Seleucidæ, the 75th was the 76th, the 82nd was the 83rd in Ptolemy. This is determined by the years of Nabonassar with which they are compared; and we collect that the Chaldæans began their epoch from Dios or October B. C. 311, whereas the era of the Seleucidæ commenced at Dios or October B. C. 312. A variation in the beginning of this era has been also ascribed to the author of the first book of Maccabees, who is supposed by Usher Norisius Dodwell Hales and others to have adapted the years of the Seleucidæ to the Hebrew years, and to have computed from the spring instead of the autumn, thus anticipating each year by about six months. But it has been shewn in *Fast. Hellen.* Vol. 3 p. 370 = p. 375—381 that the arguments upon which they found their opinion are insufficient, and that, when the author of the first book of Maccabees dates by the years of the king-

dom of the Greeks, he is to be understood to compute those years according to their known beginning.

## § 4 KINGS OF EGYPT.

## LAGIDÆ.



1 *Ptolemæus Soter* the companion of Alexander acquired Egypt in B. C. 323, assumed the title of king in 306, and died at the age of 84 years in 283, 40 years after the death of Alexander. He governed 17 years, and reigned 23 years. Two years before his death he associated his son Philadelphus in the kingdom. The first Ptolemy therefore held Egypt 38 years alone, and 2 years in conjunction with his son.

2 *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* was crowned by his father in B. C. 285, reigned 2 years jointly with his father and 36 alone, and died in 247. The two first Ptolemies accordingly possessed Egypt 76 years. Philadelphus married first Arsinoe the daughter of Lysimachus and then another Arsinoe, his own sister, who died childless. His children were the offspring of the former Arsinoe. His daughter Berenice was married to Antiochus Theus.

The *Museum* at Alexandria and the library were founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Both probably in the beginning of his reign.



3 *Ptolemæus Euergetes* succeeded his father in B. C. 247, reigned 25 years, and died about November 222. The death of the third Ptolemy was 25 years after the death of his father, and 101 years after Soter had first acquired possession of Egypt in the autumn of B. C. 323. A difficulty arising out of an inscription at Adule, in which the 27th year of Euergetes is named, may be removed by supposing that his reign began in the life-time of his father, and that Philadelphus had associated his son in the government, as he himself had been associated by his predecessor.

The power and influence of the Egyptian kingdom under the three first Ptolemies is attested by Polybius. They were masters of Cœle-Syria and Cyprus, and extended their influence over the neighbouring countries as far as Thrace and Macedonia.

4 *Ptolemæus Philopator* began to reign at the close of B. C. 222, reigned 17 years and died towards the close of 205. The corrupt and profligate character of this king immediately on his accession is attested by Polybius and Plutarch. His chief minister was Sosibius, by whose agency he put to death his uncle Lysimachus, his brother Magas, his mother Berenice, his wife and sister Arsinoe, and Cleomenes the Spartan king. His war with Antiochus for Cœle-Syria has been already mentioned. The battle of Raphia in the summer of 217 was followed by a peace.

5 *Ptolemæus Epiphanes* succeeded his father at 4 or 5 years of age. Polybius relates the troubles at the beginning of his reign. An embassy to Rome in B. C. 200 is mentioned by Livy, which marks the connexion between Rome and Egypt at that time. In 187 Ptolemy renewed his alliance with the Achæans, who appointed six years afterwards another embassy to Egypt which was interrupted by the death of Ptolemy.

Ptolemy Epiphanes married Cleopatra the daughter of Antiochus the Great. This marriage was celebrated in the 13th year of the reign of Ptolemy, when he was 17 years of age. Epiphanes left a daughter, named Cleopatra, who was married successively to her two brothers Philometor and Physcon. His reign of 24 years terminated in the autumn of 181. He is said to have died by poison.

6 *Ptolemæus Philometor*. The reign of this king and his brother Physcon or Euergetes II occupied 64 years. Philo-

metor the elder succeeded his father in October 181 and reigned 11 years alone, but upon the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes about B. C. 170 the younger Ptolemy was made king, when the elder had fallen into the hands of Antiochus. The 12th year therefore of Philometor is reckoned the 1st of Physcon. After 6 years of joint reign Philometor in the 18th year of his reign was restored by the Romans, and his brother was transferred to Cyrene. Philometor for 18 years held the sole possession of Egypt, and died of wounds received in the battle in which he overthrew Alexander Balas in the close of B. C. 246, after a reign of 35 years, computed from the death of his father.

The mild character of Philometor is mentioned with praise by Polybius and Diodorus. His daughter Cleopatra was married in 150 to Alexander Balas, and afterwards to Demetrius Nicator. Upon the captivity of Demetrius she married his brother Sidetes. Philometor left another daughter also named Cleopatra, who reigned 28 years in Egypt jointly with her sons.

7 *Ptolemæus Euergetes II.* After the death of Philometor in Syria, Euergetes II or Physcon was brought from Cyrene and proclaimed king of Egypt. He began his reign by the murder of his brother's son. His subsequent acts corresponded with his beginning. After having endured his tyranny for 15 years, the people in the 16th year rebelled and compelled him to fly to Cyprus in the beginning of B. C. 130. But Physcon collecting an army of mercenaries recovered possession of Egypt and held it till his death in B. C. 117. He reigned 29 years from the death of his brother, and 53 from his first elevation as joint king in the 12th year of Philometor.

8 *Ptolemæus Soter II* or *Lathyrus*, the elder of the two sons of Physcon, reigned in Egypt jointly with his mother, till in the eleventh year of their joint reign she expelled him for his cruelty, and associated in the government her younger son Alexander, who from the 4th year of Soter II had reigned meanwhile in Cyprus; from which 4th year his reign was computed, so that the 12th year of Cleopatra was the 9th of Alexander. After this expulsion of the elder son Cleopatra and Alexander reigned together for 18 years; but in the 19th

year Alexander put his mother to death. For this act he was driven from Egypt, defeated in a naval action and slain, and the elder brother recalled to the throne. Soter II held Egypt after his restoration 7 years and 6 months, and died in B. C. 81 in the 36th year from the death of his father.

Cleopatra the mother of Soter II and of Alexander I was the niece of Physcon and the daughter of his sister Cleopatra. She had reigned 28 years B. C. 117—89 when she was put to death by her son Alexander. Her daughters Cleopatra and Tryphæna perished in Syria in the civil wars of Grypus and Cyzicenus. Selene, who visited Rome about B. C. 75 with her son Antiochus Asiaticus, was put to death by Tigranes in B. C. 69.

The 6 months which were wanting to complete the 36th year of Soter II were occupied by Cleopatra and a second Alexander the son of Alexander and grandson of Physcon. Cleopatra, daughter of Soter II, was raised to the throne on the death of her father, and invited this Alexander, who was then at Rome and was patronised by Sulla, to share her bed and throne. But in 19 days he murdered Cleopatra, and was himself immediately put to death for his cruelty.

9 *Ptolemæus Auletes* succeeded on the death of Cleopatra and Alexander.

The 64 years of Philometor and Physcon terminated at the close of B. C. 117; the accession of Auletes, who had completed 29 years in May 51, may be placed in the beginning of B. C. 80, towards the middle of N. E. 668, which is reckoned the first year of his reign in the Astronomical Canon. The space between the death of Physcon at the close of 117 and the death of Auletes in May 51 (65 $\frac{1}{2}$  6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ) will give something more than 29 years to Auletes and something more than 36 to the preceding period.

Auletes was a minor at his accession, and was in Syria at the death of Alexander II. From the testimonies of Cicero and Trogus Pompeius which are quoted in Fast. Hellen. Vol. 3 p. 401 it has been reasonably inferred that there was a third Alexander or Alexas, who died about B. C. 65. It is probable that this Alexander was supported by a party in Egypt during the minority of Auletes. From the silence of Porphyry and Eusebius we may conclude that he was never acknowledged



by the whole country, and never reigned over the whole of Egypt.

Ptolemy Auletes was an illegitimate son of Soter II, and was not acknowledged by the Romans till B. C. 59. The king therefore whom Cæsar wished to restore during his ædileship in 65, and who had been already acknowledged the ally of Rome, must have been his competitor Alexander III. Auletes was expelled by the Alexandrian people, and went to Rome in B. C. 58, when Cato was at Rhodes in his way to Cyprus. Auletes obtained in 57 an order from the senate for his restoration, but in 56 the question by whom and in what manner he should be restored excited much dispute. During that year therefore nothing was done, and Ptolemy retired in despair to Ephesus. During his absence his daughters occupied the government. Berenice reigned three years, the first in conjunction with her sister Tryphæna, from the middle of B. C. 58 to the middle of 55. In her fourth year, at the close of 55, Gabinius with the concurrence of Pompey marched an army into Egypt and restored Auletes. Of the daughters of Auletes Tryphæna died early, a year after the flight of her father; Berenice was put to death by Auletes after his return. She had first married Seleucus the pretended son of Antiochus Eusebes, and after his death Archelaus, who perished with Berenice. The celebrated Cleopatra was born at the close of B. C. 69, was 11 years of age at the time of her father's journey to Rome, 14 at his return in the close of B. C. 55, and had perhaps nearly completed her 39th year at her death in Sept. B. C. 30. Antony is said to have been first struck with her beauty when he accompanied Gabinius into Egypt at the close of 55. He afterwards saw her at Rome: for Cleopatra was at Rome in B. C. 44 at the time of the death of Cæsar, and fled from thence after that event. The remaining daughter of Auletes, the unfortunate Arsinoë, may be described in the reign of her sister Cleopatra.

Ptolemy Auletes survived his restoration about 3 years and a half, and died in the beginning of May B. C. 51.

Strabo observes of the Ptolemies that "all after the third were corrupted by luxury and governed ill; but that the worst of all were the fourth Ptolemy (Philopator), the seventh (Physcon), and the last, Auletes."

10 *Cleopatra*, the last of the Lagidæ, was in her 18th year when she succeeded her father. For the first 4 years she reigned jointly with her brother Ptolemy, till Ptolemy was slain by Cæsar in the Alexandrian war after the battle of Pharsalia. Her younger brother, a second Ptolemy, was then associated with her in the throne by Cæsar and reigned 4 other years. But this Ptolemy being slain in the 4th year of his reign and the 8th year of Cleopatra, from that period Cleopatra reigned alone. In the 16th year of her reign B. C. 36 she acquired Chalcis, which was given her by Antony, and held Chalcis with Egypt for the remaining 7 years, till her death in September B. C. 30, 21½ 5<sup>m</sup> after the death of her father.

Cleopatra murdered her younger brother Ptolemy and her sister Arsinoë. The young Ptolemy was destroyed by poison, Arsinoë by means of Antony. Arsinoë had been led in triumph by Cæsar in B. C. 45 and afterwards dismissed. Her rank, her youth, and her misfortunes excited the compassion of the Roman people, who were offended at the spectacle of Arsinoë exhibited at the triumph. But that pity which she obtained from the Roman populace she did not receive from her sister Cleopatra, who caused her to be assassinated in B. C. 41.

The connexion of Cleopatra with Antony commenced in 41 after the battle of Philippi, when Antony was a little more than 40 years of age. Cleopatra herself was 28. The death of Cleopatra in September B. C. 30 was in the first month of the 719th year of Nabonassar, and this year is computed in the Astronomical Canon as the first year of Augustus. The reign of Cleopatra is expressed in the Canon by the years N. E. 697—718 both inclusive. Augustus gained the fleet of Antony on the 1st of August B. C. 30 and entered Alexandria on the 29th of the same month. The death of Cleopatra followed the occupation of Alexandria.

The first series of dates in the following table represents the numbers of the Astronomical Canon, the second gives the true accessions, with the conumerary years.

	1		2		
	y.	N.E.	y.	Ol.	B.C.
Commenced.					
10 B.C. 317. Alexander Ægus .....	12	432			
7 B.C. 305. Ptol. I Lagi f. (last 20) .....	20	444	38 (40)	114. 2	323
2 B.C. 285. Ptol. II Philadelphus .....	38	464	38 (36)	123. 4	285
24 B.C. 247. Ptol. III Evergetes .....	25	502	25	133. 2	247
17 B.C. 222. Ptol. IV Philopator .....	17	527	17	139. 3	222 Nov.
13 B.C. 205. Ptol. V Epiphanes .....	24	544		143. 4	205 Nov.
his marriage with Cleopatra .....			13		192
7 B.C. 181. Ptol. VI Philometor .....	35	568		149. 4	181 Oct.
.....			*		
.....			11	152. 2	17 $\frac{1}{6}$
Ptol. Everg. joint reign .....	12			1 152. 3	17 $\frac{9}{69}$
.....			*	*	
.....			17	6 153. 4	16 $\frac{5}{6}$
Ptol. Everg. king of Cyrene .....	18			(7) 154. 1	16 $\frac{4}{3}$
.....			*	*	
.....			35	(24) 158. 2	147 $\frac{7}{6}$
28 B.C. 146. Ptol. VII Everg. II .....	29	603		158. 3	146 Nov.
36th year from accession of Philomet. ....			36	1 (25) 158. 3	14 $\frac{5}{5}$
.....			*	*	
Physcon flies to Cyprus .....			51	16 (40) 162. 2	130
Death of Physcon, 54th current .....			64	29 (53) 165. 3	117
21 B.C. 117. Ptol. VIII Soter II (35y 6m) .....	36	632	<i>So. Cleop. Al.</i>		
Ptol. Soter and Cleopatra .....			1	1	
.....			*	*	
Alexander in Cyprus .....			4	4 1	
.....			*	*	
Alexander and Cleopatra .....			11	11 1 (8) 163. 2	107 $\frac{6}{6}$
.....			*	*	
.....			28	28 18 (25) 172. 3	99 $\frac{9}{99}$
.....					
Death of Cleopatra .....					89
Ptol. Soter restored .....			29	(1) 19 (26) 172. 4	88 $\frac{8}{8}$
.....			*	*	
Death of Soter .....			36	(8) 174. 3	81
Cleopatra 6m } .....				6m 174. 3	81
Alexander II 19d } .....					
12 B.C. 81. Ptol. IX Dionysus .....	29	668		174. 4	80
(Alexander III) .....					
Death of Alexander III .....			17		65
Ptol. Auletes goes to Rome .....			24		58
Tryphæna and Berenice .....			(24)	1	
Berenice alone .....			(25)	2	
.....			(26)	3	
Auletes restored by Gabinius .....			27	(4) 181. 2	55 Autumn
Death of Auletes .....			29	182. 1	51 May
5 B.C. 52. Cleopatra (21y 5m) .....	22	697		182. 1	51 May
Cleopatra and Ptolemy .....			1	1	51
.....			*	*	
Death of Ptolemy .....			4	4 183. 1	48 Dec.
Cleopatra and Ptol. II .....			5	1	47
.....			*	*	
Death of Ptolemy .....			8	4	44
Cleopatra meets Antony .....			11		41
Murder of Arsinoë .....			11		41
Cleopatra in Syria .....			16	1	36
.....			*	*	
Death of Cleopatra .....			21y 5m	187. 3	30 Sept.
30 B.C. 30. Augustus .....	43	719			



## § 5 CYRENE.

The foundation of Cyrene by Battus in B. C. 631 has been described under that year. From the foundation in 631 the kings who reigned in 200 years were these.

- 1 Battus I B. C. 631.
- 2 Arcesilaus I B. C. 591.
- 3 Battus II Felix B. C. 575.
- 4 Arcesilaus II.
- 5 Battus III Claudus.
- 6 Arcesilaus III, son of Battus III and of Pheretime, reigned in the time of Cambyses B. C. 525, and was slain in the reign of Darius Hystaspis.
- 7 Battus IV Pulcher.
- 8 Arcesilaus IV, Pythian victor in 466, 460. He died in 431.

Battus a son of the last Arcesilaus withdrew or was driven from Cyrene, and a democratical government was established. He withdrew to Hesperis, and died there.

The Cyrenæans held their republican independence for 110 years, to the time of Ptolemy son of Lagus. During that period, according to Strabo, they had many eminent citizens who were able to defend their liberties, and to make a valiant stand against the barbarous tribes who lay beyond them. During this period it was that Aristotle composed a treatise on the Cyrenæan constitution. The Cyrenæans in B. C. 400 were disturbed by a political sedition. In 332 they made a treaty with Alexander when he visited the temple of Jupiter Ammon. Their war with Thimbron in 322 led to their subjection by Ophellas the general of Ptolemy Soter in B. C. 321.

The Ptolemies ruled this territory for 225 years from B. C. 321 to 96; a period which included Magas and Ptolemy Apion. Magas, the half-brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, reigned in Cyrene 50 years, and his dominions on the eastern coast included Parætonium, about 198 English miles west of Alexandria. Apion, an illegitimate son of Euergetes II, was appointed by his father to reign at Cyrene, and reigned there from the death of Euergetes II in B. C. 117 till his own death in 96, when he bequeathed Cyrene to the Roman people.

About 30 years afterwards in B. C. 65 his kingdom was finally reduced to a Roman province.

The five cities of the Pentapolis are *Cyrene* itself, *Apollonia*, *Barce*, *Hesperis* or *Berenice*, *Tauchira* or *Arsinoe*.

1 *Cyrene*, celebrated for the fertility of its soil and for its excellent breed of horses, stood on an elevated position, 11 miles or 80 stadia from the sea, from whence it was visible. The city is built on the edge of a range of hills about 800 feet above a fine sweep of table land which forms the summit of a lower chain to which there is a descent by a series of terraces. The elevation of the lower chain may be estimated at 1000 feet; so that *Cyrene* stands about 1800 feet above the level of the sea, of which it commands an extensive view over that table land, which extends east and west as far as the eye can reach, stretches about 5 miles to the northward, and then descends abruptly to the sea. Already in A. D. 363 *Cyrene* had fallen into decay. Synesius in A. D. 399, about the 1030th year of the city, addressing the emperor Arcadius laments its decline.

The position of *Cyrene* is in north latitude  $32^{\circ} 49' 38''$ , east long.  $21^{\circ} 49' 5''$ .

2 *Apollonia*. The port of *Cyrene*. It stands in lat.  $32^{\circ} 54' 53''$  long.  $21^{\circ} 55' 57''$ , at the bottom of an open bay, close to the sea, upon a narrow slip of elevated ground. The length of the present town is nearly 3000 English feet; the breadth scarcely more than 500.

At a promontory 15 miles east of *Apollonia*, and 14 from *Cyrene*, from whence it is visible, two ranges of mountains commence which extend to the westward. One of these along the coast forms the southern boundary of a plain which lies between the mountains and the sea. The other range rises above those mountains and behind them, and diverges from them. The plain at the foot of the ridge is a mile or a mile and a half in breadth, and reaches westward to Ptolemais 68 geographical miles from that promontory. Upon this plain *Apollonia* was built about 53 geographical miles to the east of Ptolemais. *Apollonia* was founded by *Cyrene*, from which according to Strabo it was distant 80 stadia.

3 *Barce* was founded in the reign of Arcesilaus II the fourth king. It was placed 11 Roman miles or 100 stadia

from the port. In the early period Barce was the next city in importance to Cyrene, and had kings of its own. This city, about 46 geographical miles direct distance west by south of Cyrene, stood like Cyrene in an elevated position upon table land on the top of the mountains which rise to the south of the port, afterwards Ptolemais, which is placed with respect to Barce as Apollonia with respect to Cyrene, at the foot of the mountains on the plain which lies between those mountains and the sea. Ptolemais is built on a beautiful plain sloping down from the mountains to the sea, and seems to have occupied a square mile of ground. The position of Ptolemais is in latitude  $32^{\circ} 42' 12''$  long.  $20^{\circ} 55' 8''$ . Barce itself was called Ptolemais; for Ptolemais being a flourishing seaport gradually withdrew the inhabitants from Barce.

4 *Hesperis* or *Hesperides*, afterwards called *Berenice*, in lat.  $32^{\circ} 6' 54''$  long.  $20^{\circ} 3'$ , stood near the sea on the western coast in a beautiful and fertile plain which is thickly covered with wood and flowering shrubs, and stretches from the sea to the foot of the mountains which pervade the region of the Pentapolis in the north. The sides of the mountains are also thickly clothed with wood, chiefly pine of various kinds. This plain in length from Hesperis to Ptolemais is 57 G. miles. Between Hesperis and the mountains it is 14 G. miles in breadth, but becomes narrower in every mile of the progress to Ptolemais, where its breadth is no more than a mile or a mile and a half, equal to the breadth of the plain on the northern coast. At 31 miles from Hesperis the plain is already reduced to seven miles in width. This city received the name of Berenice after Berenice the daughter of Magas and wife of the third Ptolemy.

5 *Tauchira* or *Arsinoe*, in lat.  $32^{\circ} 31' 44''$  long.  $20^{\circ} 34' 10''$ , is situated close to the sea 38 miles from Hesperis and 18 geographical miles from Ptolemais. In this part of the plain the sea is about four miles from the mountains. Tauchira belonged to the territory of Barce. Its name Arsinoe was derived from Arsinoe the sister and the wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This city however bears its ancient name Teuchira in Synesius, and the name is preserved in the *συνέκδημος* of Hierocles, where these towns are enumerated; *Sozusa* (a later appellation of Apollonia), *Cyrene*, *Ptolemais*, *Teuchira*, *Adri-*



*ane, Beronice.* Adriane is named in the Itinerary of Antoninus between Berenice and Tauchira:

	<i>M. P.</i>
<i>Beronicem</i> .....	—
<i>Adriane</i> .....	28
<i>Teuchiram</i> .....	18
<i>Ptolemaidem</i> .....	26

Ptolemy gives the positions on the coast: "The promontory Boreum, where the Syrtis terminates.—Of the Pentapolis. Berenice or Hesperides. Mouth of the river Lathon. Arsinoe or Teuchira. Ptolemais.—Apollonia the seaport of the Cyrenæans.—The harbour Naustathmus.—the promontory Zephyrium. Darnis." He fixes the limits of the Cyrenaic territory. "It is bounded on the west by the great Syrtis and Africa at the altars of the Philæni, on the north by the Libyan sea as far as the city Darnis." Derna, the ancient Darnis, on the eastern coast, is in lat.  $32^{\circ} 46' 18''$  long.  $22^{\circ} 40' 48''$  and is situated on a low point of land running out from the foot of a range of barren mountains distant about a mile from the coast.

Scylax, who described Cyrene before the Ptolemaic period, gives the distances along the coast from Egypt, reckoning from the east, and names the Cherronesi Haliades, a harbour within the territory of Cyrene. He adds "The distance through the middle of the country from Cherronesus to Hesperides is about 2500 stadia." Proceeding westwards, he reckons "Aphrodisias an island with a harbour, Naustathmus one day's sail (500 stadia) from Cherronesus. From Naustathmus to the port of Cyrene 100 stadia. From the port to Cyrene 80 stadia. From the port of Cyrene to the port near Barce 500, Barce being distant 100 stadia from the sea. From the port near Barce to the Hesperides 620 stadia." He concludes "From the Cherronesi Haliadum to Hesperides the country belongs partly to the Cyrenæans and partly to the Barcæans."

Pliny beginning from the west marks the distances in Roman miles: "Berenice is distant from Leptis 385 miles. From Berenice to Arsinoe or Teuchira 43. From thence to Ptolemais the ancient Barce 22 miles. Then the promontory

Phycus. From Phycus to Apollonia 24, to Cherronesus 88. From Cherronesus to Catabathmus 216 miles."

The limits of this territory are variously assigned. The western limit in Pliny is at Borion which in the Itinerary of Antoninus is 126 Roman miles to the south of Berenice. Sallust Polybius and Ptolemy place the western limit at the altars of the Philæni which are placed in the most southern point of the Great Syrtis, in lat.  $30^{\circ} 16'$  long.  $19^{\circ} 18' 33''$ , a point by the coast 135 geographical miles south of Berenice. Strabo reckoning from the westward assigns the tower of Euphrantus, many miles to the west of the altars, as the boundary. The limit on the east is in Ptolemy at Darnis, in Sallust Strabo and Pliny at the greater or western Catabathmus, 86 Roman miles in Pliny west of Parætonium. From Apollonia therefore to the south east the distances are thus laid down by Pliny in Roman miles.

Apollonia to Cherronesus .....	88
Cherronesus to Catabathmus ...	216
Catabathmus to Parætonium ...	86
	—390

Apollonia is in Seylax 600 stadia from Cherronesus and according to Strabo 3100 stadia from Parætonium, which he places 900 stadia to the east of Catabathmus.

According to accurate modern maps these are the distances in geographical miles along the circuit of the coast from the altars of the Philæni on the west to Parætonium the extreme point on the east.

From the <i>aræ</i> to Berenice .....	135
Berenice to Tauchira .....	38
Tauchira to Ptolemais .....	18
Ptolemais to Apollonia .....	53
Apollonia to Darnis .....	43
Darnis to Cherronesus .....	51
	—203
Cherronesus to Catabathmus ...	(188)
Catabathmus to Parætonium ...	(80)
	—268
	—
From the <i>aræ</i> to Parætonium .....	606

The position of Catabathmus is not certain. But we assume it to be 80 geographical miles west of Parætonium (which divides the space into  $188 \times 80$ ) upon a comparison of Pliny with Strabo.

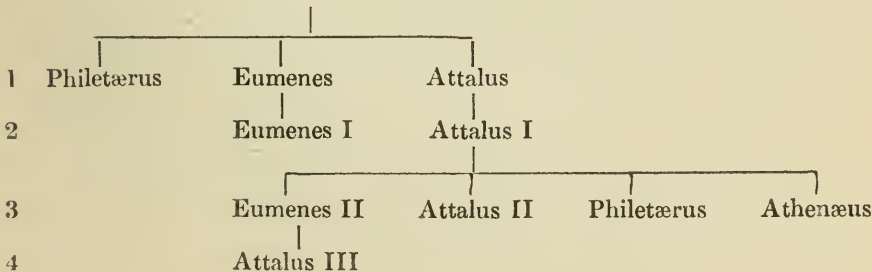
A line drawn from the altars of the Philæni to a point on the coast 80 geographical miles west of Parætonium, the point assumed as the position of Catabathmus, is equal to 410 English miles, and the area contained between that line and the sea is equal to 36,681 square English miles. But the line described by Scylax from Hesperis to Cherronesus, and estimated at 2500 stadia, is only equal to 209 English miles, and the space enclosed between this line and the sea, containing the more immediate territory of the Pentapolis, is only 5384 square miles.

The miles which have been expressed in this account are the Geographical of 60 to a degree, the Roman of 75.3100 to a degree, and the English of 69.1000 to a degree. They may be thus given in English feet.

Miles	English feet
Roman .....	4844
English statute .....	5280
Geographical .....	$6080\frac{8}{10}$

Captain Beechey in 1821 found only three of the ancient names among the cities of the Pentapolis, *Ptolemeta*, *Tauchira*, *Cyrene*. He could not trace the appellation *Berenice*, now *Bengazi*. The name *Barca* is now applied not to a city but to a district.

#### § 6 KINGS OF PERGAMUS.



1 *Philetærus*, a native of the little town of Ticium in Pontus, was entrusted by Lysimachus with the care of the fortress of Pergamus, which he held for 20 years. He is said to have lived to the age of 80.



2 *Eumenes I* the nephew of Philetærus, the son of his brother Eumenes, succeeded in the government and reigned 22 years. He had war with Antiochus Soter, whom he overthrew in a battle near Sardis.

3 *Attalus I*, another nephew of Philetærus, the son of his younger brother Attalus, succeeded Eumenes I, reigned 44 years, and died at the age of 72 in the consulship of Cornelius and Minucius B. C. 197.

Computing this reign at 44 years, we ascend from his death in 197 to his accession towards the close of 241, which places the beginning of Philetærus, 42 years before, in B. C. 283, and the beginning of Eumenes I towards the close of 263, about 15 months before the death of Antiochus Soter, with whom he was engaged in war.

In the time of Seleucus Ceraunus about 225 Attalus had extended his authority over the whole of Asia Minor west of Mount Taurus. But in 221, soon after the death of Seleucus, he received a check from Achæus, who confined him within the limits of Pergamus itself. In the course of this war with Achæus he recovered Æolis in 218 by the help of his Gallic auxiliaries, and in 216 formed an alliance with Antiochus.

Some years afterwards Attalus was the ally of the Romans and Ætolians against Philip and the Achæans. His territories were ravaged by Philip in an expedition of B. C. 201. In the year 200 Attalus was in Greece. After the campaign of 199, in which he assisted the consul Sulpicius, he withdrew to Asia. But in 198 he was again in Greece, and at the close of the campaign wintered at Ægina. In a council of the Bœotians in the spring of 197 Attalus, who opened the proceedings, was suddenly seized with illness in the midst of his discourse, and fainted. He was borne to Asia by sea, and died a few months afterwards.

4 *Eumenes II*, the eldest of the four sons of Attalus, succeeded his father in 197 and reigned 38 years. His accession is determined by the death of his predecessor to the autumn of B. C. 197; he was succeeded by his brother Attalus II in 159.

The new king son of Attalus is mentioned by Livy in 196, before the Isthmian games, which agrees with his accession in the preceding autumn. He is in Peloponnesus with Quinc-

tius in B. C. 195. In 191 towards the autumn Eumenes and the Romans engaged the fleet of Antiochus. He received from the Romans large accessions of territory at the completion of the treaty with Antiochus in 188. About the same time he agreed to a marriage with the daughter of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia.

Eumenes was engaged in a war with Prusias king of Bithynia, which may be referred to the year 184. In 183, with Ariarathes for his ally, he carried on war against Pharnaces king of Pontus. Peace was concluded in 179.

An attempt was made by Perseus king of Macedonia in 172 to assassinate Eumenes at Delphi. When the consul Licinius was in Thessaly in the autumn of the year following, he was joined by Eumenes and Attalus.

In the third year of the Macedonian war B. C. 169 Eumenes secretly corresponded with Perseus, which lost him the favour of the Romans, and at the close of 167 he was prevented from entering Rome. Already in the same year his brother Attalus had been sent to Rome, and had been secretly encouraged with hopes of the kingdom for himself. He had the prudence or the virtue to resist the temptation. Eumenes at this time was pressed by a war with the Gauls, in which he was ultimately successful.

A few years afterwards, Eumenes sends his brothers Attalus and Athenæus to Rome. In the beginning of 160 Attalus is sent again, and is received with favour. The death of Eumenes may be placed in the following year. Eumenes according to Polybius displayed many eminent qualities, and left his kingdom much more powerful and flourishing than he found it.

5 *Attalus II Philadelphus*, the younger brother of Eumenes, was past 60 at his accession, for he reigned 21 years and lived 82.

One of the first acts of his reign was to restore Ariarathes to his kingdom. In 156 he was engaged in war with Prusias. Polybius mentions a victory of Prusias and an attack upon Pergamus, and the mission of Athenæus to Rome by Attalus with the Roman ambassador Lentulus, who was heard by the senate early in the year in which A. Postumius was prætor,

about March B. C. 155 ; which determines the first campaign of this war to 156.

The ambassadors who were sent in 155 return in the winter before the consulship of Opimius B. C. 154 to relate that Prusias was still hostile ; and ten other ambassadors are immediately despatched to compel him to a peace.

The second campaign may be placed in 155, when Prusias gained an advantage by perfidy. While Attalus is engaged in new preparations at the close of 155 for a third campaign, the ten ambassadors arrive. Prusias still refused to comply, and of the ten ambassadors some hastened back to Rome to announce the state of affairs, others proceeded to Ionia. At the same time Athenæus with the fleet of Attalus sailing to the Hellespont made a descent upon the towns which acknowledged Prusias. These transactions belong to the summer of 154, in which year the war would be concluded.

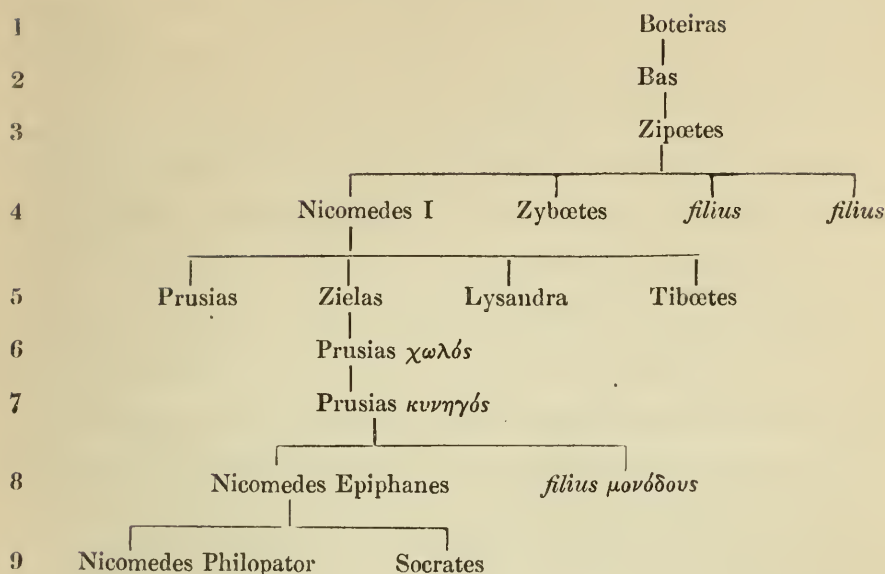
Five years afterwards, in the year 149, Attalus assisted Nicomedes against his father Prusias.

6 *Attalus III Philometor*, after a reign of 5 years, bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people. He died while Tiberius Gracchus was tribune in B. C. 133. The death of Attalus III in 133 places his accession in 138, and the accession of his predecessor in 159.

When Attalus II was at Rome in B. C. 167, this son of Eumenes had not yet been acknowledged. He was brought to Rome during the reign of his uncle, and was presented to the senate at the same time as Alexander Balas, consequently in the beginning of 152, about seven years after the death of his father. Justin and Diodorus describe the extravagant conduct of Attalus III. After his death Aristonicus claimed the kingdom and maintained a war of three years with the Romans. He was captured and put to death in 129. From the first year of Philetærus in B. C. 283 to the capture of Aristonicus was a space of 154 years.



## § 7 KINGS OF BITHYNIA.



	y.	B. C.
1 Dydalsus.....	...	.....
2 Boteiras .....	...	.....
3 Bas .....	50	376
4 Zipœtes .....	48	326
5 Nicomedes I .....	...	278
6 Zielas .....	...	.....
7 Prusias I χωλός .....	(48)	[228]
8 Prusias II κυνηγός .....	(31)	[180]
9 Nicomedes II Epiphanes .....	58	149
10 Nicomedes III Philopator.....	16	91

*Dydalsus, Boteiras, Bas.* The city of Astacus in Bithynia was originally founded by the Megarians in the 17th Olympiad B. C. 712. This city after various fortunes was in a flourishing condition in the reign of Dydalsus, whose reign is determined by the time of his successors to about the period of the Peloponnesian war.

4 *Zipœtes.* In a reign of 48 years he carried on war successfully against the generals of Lysimachus, and against Antiochus Theus the son of Seleucus, who began to reign in 280. Zipœtes in B. C. 315 made war upon Astacus and Chalcedon. He lived 76 years and left four sons.

5 *Nicomedes I* the eldest son of Zipœtes began to reign

after the death of Seleucus Jan. B. C. 280, and before the passage of the Gauls into Asia in the spring of 277. The Gauls were called into Asia by Nicomedes in the beginning of his reign. By their aid he conquered his brother Zybœtes who held a part of Bithynia.

Nicomedes by his queen Ditizele had three children, Zielas, Prusias, and Lysandra. He had a second wife Etazeta, who survived him, and by whom he left children in minority at the time of his death, whom he destined to succeed him in preference to his eldest son Zielas.

6 *Zielas* recovered his inheritance with difficulty after the death of his father Nicomedes. One of the half brothers of Zielas was Tibœtes, who resided in Macedonia in the reign of his nephew Prusias, and was brought forward by the Byzantines in their war with Prusias in 221. Zielas was slain by the Gauls at a banquet, about the year 228.

7 *Prusias I* son of Zielas was in the throne according to Polybius before the death of Seleucus Callinicus, who died in 226; and we may place the accession of Prusias at 228. In 216 he defeated the Gauls in a great battle. In 207 he invaded the territories of Attalus I. He was included in the treaty with Philip in 205, and in 203 was assisted by Philip in the acquisition of Cius, which he afterwards named Prusias. Myrlea was also acquired by the aid of Philip.

At the siege of Heraclea Prusias, while mounting the scaling ladder, had his leg broken by a stone from the walls. This accident saved the city, and gave to Prusias the surname of *χολός*.

He was still reigning in 190 at the time of the war between Antiochus and the Romans, and with him Hannibal took refuge; which extends the reign of Prusias I to B. C. 183.

8 *Prusias II* probably succeeded his father between B. C. 183 and B. C. 179. The two reigns of Prusias I and Prusias II occupied about 79 years, B. C. 228—150. Of this space about 48 years might belong to the elder Prusias, and 31 to the younger.

Prusias II married the sister of Perseus king of Macedonia. After the defeat of Perseus Prusias and his son Nicomedes visited Rome in 167 for 30 days, when the meanness of his conduct and his base flattery of the Romans is remarked by

Polybius. The death of Prusias and the succession of Nicomedes may be assigned to B. C. 149. He was slain by his own son Nicomedes, with the assistance of Attalus king of Pergamus.

9 *Nicomedes II Epiphanes*. His father Prusias designed to put him to death in order to secure the succession to another son. But Nicomedes anticipated him, slew his father, and obtained the kingdom for himself. The death of Nicomedes II may be placed in B. C. 91, which extends his reign to 58 years: and as he had visited Rome with his father in 167, 76 years before his own death, it appears that he lived to a very advanced age.

The forces of Nicomedes were employed in the war of the Romans with Aristonicus in 131. To Nicomedes II Marius sent for succours during the Cimbrian war about the year 103.

10 *Nicomedes III Philopator* upon the death of his father was expelled from Bithynia by Mithridates, and his younger brother Socrates substituted in his stead. But Nicomedes was restored by the Romans in B. C. 90. The usurper Socrates was put to death by Mithridates himself.

Nicomedes was again expelled by Mithridates in the beginning of the Mithridatic war in 88. Restored at the peace in 84. Nicomedes died in the consulship of Lucullus and Cotta, in the beginning of B. C. 74 in the 17th year current of his reign. The dynasty ended with this third Nicomedes, grandson of Prusias Venator.

### § 8 KINGS OF PONTUS.

	y.	B. C.
1 Ariobarzanes I		
2 Mithridates I		
3 Ariobarzanes II	26	363
4 Mithridates II <i>κρίστης</i>	35	337
5 Mithridates III	36	302
6 Ariobarzanes III	—	266
7 Mithridates IV	—	[240]
8 Pharnaces I	—	[190]
9 Mithridates V Evergetes	—	[156]
10 Mithridates VI Eupator	57	120
11 Pharnaces II	16	63

The descent of this dynasty from one of the seven chiefs



who overthrew the Magi in B. C. 521 is recorded by Polybius, by Florus Diodorus and Appian.

1. 2 *Ariobarzanes I Mithridates I* are mentioned by Xenophon and by Aristotle.

3 *Ariobarzanes II*. His government of 26 years ending in B. C. 337 is marked by Diodorus. He engaged in rebellion against Artaxerxes in 362. Mithridates therefore, upon whose death Ariobarzanes succeeded in 363, is the Mithridates of Xenophon, with whom he would be contemporary. Ariobarzanes II is mentioned by Demosthenes in 352 and 351, and by Nepos in his account of Datames.

4 *Mithridates II* the successor of Ariobarzanes II died in B. C. 302. He was slain by Antigonus after a reign of 36 years in the winter of the archon Nicocles, the 35th archon from Phrynichus, in whose year he had begun to reign; and we may determine his accession to the close of B. C. 337 and his death to the close of 302.

This Mithridates circumvented Datames, and served under Eumenes against Antigonus in 315. Mithridates II or *κρίστης* lived 84 years.

5 *Mithridates III* succeeded his father in the close of 302, and the 36 years ascribed to him by Diodorus terminate in 266. He is acknowledged as king in 281 by Memnon.

6 *Ariobarzanes III* began to reign in 266, to which year Diodorus determines the death of his predecessor. We collect from a narrative in Memnon that Ariobarzanes, who began to reign in 266, and who was contemporary with Eumenes I and Nicomedes I, was the son of Mithridates III and grandson of Mithridates *κρίστης*.

7 *Mithridates IV*, who succeeded his father Ariobarzanes III, was a minor at his accession, and yet his daughter Laodice was married to Antiochus in 222. We may therefore place his accession at least 18 or 20 years before the marriage of his daughter, which would fix the beginning of his reign at 240 or 242. Ariobarzanes then, the grandson of Mithridates *κρίστης*, reigned about 25 years, and left a son in minority about B. C. 240.

Another daughter of Mithridates, also named Laodice, was married to Achæus, who fell into the hands of Antiochus in 214, and who is mentioned by Polybius at the year 218, when

her marriage is noticed as a past transaction. Laodice therefore was probably not much younger than the wife of Antiochus, and Mithridates might have two daughters marriageable in 222.

This king made war upon Sinope in the year 220. He joined the other kings, Seleucus Callinicus Prusias I Attalus and Antigonus Doson, in presents to the Rhodians to repair their losses in the earthquake. This must have occurred between 229 and 226. Mithridates IV, who was a minor at his accession, appears to have reigned about 50 years.

8 *Pharnaces I* was the son of Mithridates IV and the grandfather of Mithridates Eupator, who attests them both by naming *proavo suo Mithridati*, and *avum suum Pharnacem*. Pharnaces conquered Sinope in 183. He was therefore already king before that date. His war with Eumenes II was in 183—179. Pharnaces is noticed by Polybius at the year 170.

9 *Mithridates V Evergetes* the son of Pharnaces was in the throne before 155, when he assisted Prusias against Attalus. In 131 he was the ally of the Romans, and for his service in the war against Aristonicus received Phrygia as a recompence. He was again the ally of the Romans in the third Punic war B. C. 149—146. He was slain at Sinope in B. C. 120, 35 years after the first mention of him in the fragment of Polybius. The two reigns of Pharnaces and Mithridates V might occupy 70 years, B. C. 190—120.

10 *Mithridates VI Eupator*, the grandson of Pharnaces and the son of Mithridates V, began the war with the Romans in B. C. 88 in the 173rd Olympiad. He agreed to a peace in 84; but in the consulship of Lucullus and Cotta B. C. 74 the war was renewed, and Mithridates at the close of 72 was driven into Armenia. Cicero remarks that the year 66 was the 23rd from the beginning of the war. Mithridates died in 63 in the year of Catiline's conspiracy. According to Appian he died at the age of 68 or 69, after a reign of 57 years. Strabo, who makes him eleven at his accession, agrees in this account of his age. Memnon reckons him 13 at his accession. Justin implies that he passed 7 years in minority, and assumed the government in the 8th year of his reign. According to Pliny he reigned 56 years, according to Eutropius 60 years.

The computation of Cicero for the duration of the war is

exact, and to his death in B. C. 63 was a space of 26 years from the commencement of the war. The number was exaggerated by the Roman writers. It was called 30 years by Pliny, 40 by Florus Eutropius Appian and Augustine, 46 by Justin. The 30 years might be computed from the mission of Sulla in B. C. 92. See F. H. III p. 140, 446.

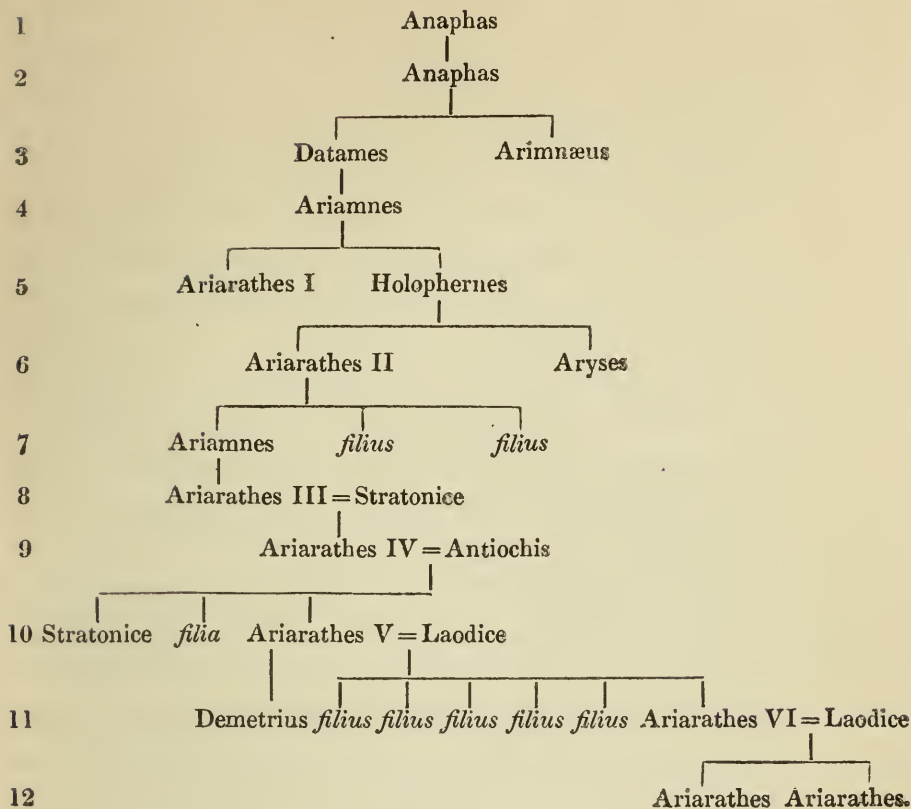
11 *Pharnaces II* procured the death of his father Mithridates VI, and received from Pompey in 63 the kingdom of Bosporus as a reward for his parricide. But during the civil war of Cæsar and Pompey he attempted to recover his paternal kingdom, and was defeated by Cæsar in 47, and slain after his escape to Bosporus. According to Appian he reigned 15 years; which were perhaps computed from the grant of Pompey, for Mithridates died in B. C. 63 while Pompey was in Syria, and the victory of Cæsar was obtained in the end of May B. C. 47 in the 16th year from the death of Mithridates. The reign of Pharnaces, computed from the death of his father, was at the least 15 years and a half.

Pharnaces left a son named Darius, appointed king of Pontus by Antony in B. C. 39. But Antony before B. C. 36 removed Darius and appointed Polemo in his stead. Asander, by whom Pharnaces was slain, reigned or governed about 30 years in Bosporus. He died a little before the visit of Agrippa to Asia in B. C. 16.

Pharnaces II, who was defeated and slain in B. C. 47, was the 8th in descent (both extremes being included) from Mithridates *κτίστης*, and the 10th from Mithridates I.



## § 9 KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.



1	Datames	y.	B. C.
2	Ariamnes		
3	Ariarathes I	ob. B. C. 322	
4	Ariarathes II	.....	315
5	Ariamnes II		
6	Ariarathes III		
7	Ariarathes IV	..... 58	220
8	Ariarathes V	Philopator ..... 32	162
9	Ariarathes VI	..... (34)	130
10	Ariobarzanes I	..... 30	93
11	Ariobarzanes II	..... 21	63
12	Ariarathes VII	..... 6	42
13	Archelaus	..... 50	36

1. 2 *Datames. Ariamnes.* According to Diodorus Datames was the grandson of Anaphas, one of the seven who slew Magi in B. C. 521, and descended from the grandfather of

the great Cyrus. Appian knows nothing of the kings of Cappadocia before the time of Alexander.

We have seen that northern Cappadocia or Pontus gradually became a powerful kingdom under a race of princes who reigned there in hereditary succession, and who traced their origin, like the kings of southern Cappadocia, to one of the seven Persian chiefs. Northern Cappadocia, or Pontus, appears first to have assumed the character of an independent kingdom in the time of Mithridates *κλῆστης*: southern Cappadocia in the time of Ariarathes, the successor of that Ariarathes who was slain by Perdiccas. But neither these nor the kingdom of Bithynia could have possessed any real power while the peninsula of Asia Minor felt the control of Lysimachus and Seleucus. After the death of these in the 124th Olympiad these provinces might acquire the stability and importance of independent monarchies.

3 *Ariarathes I*, whose brother Holophernes attended Ochus to Egypt in B. C. 350, was defeated and taken prisoner by Perdiccas, and put to death in 322 at the age of 82 years.

4 *Ariarathes II*, the son of Holophernes, recovered Cappadocia after the death of Eumenes of Cardia B. C. 315, and was succeeded by Ariamnes the eldest of his three sons.

5 *Ariamnes II* married his eldest son Ariarathes to Stratonice the daughter of Antiochus Theus.

6 *Ariarathes III* succeeded his father and left a son also named Ariarathes as his successor.

7 *Ariarathes IV* son of Ariarathes and Stratonice was a child at his accession, which is fixed to about the year 220 by Polybius, who enumerates the kings at July B. C. 220 Ol. 140. 1 "Philip yet very young had just succeeded to the throne in Macedonia, Achæus ruled the country west of mount Taurus, Antiochus called the Great a short time before had succeeded his brother Seleucus in Syria, and was still in early youth. Meanwhile Ariarathes became king of Cappadocia, Ptolemy Philopator about the same time was king of Egypt, and Lycurgus not long after reigned at Lacedæmon." We may therefore place the accession of Ariarathes IV in 220. The three preceding reigns occupy a space of 95 years from the accession of Ariarathes II after the death of Eumenes, or 102 years, if computed from the death of Ariarathes I.

In B. C. 192 Ariarathes married Antiochis the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and after this alliance joined him in the war against the Romans. While Manlius is in Asia in 188, he receives an embassy from Ariarathes, who is required to pay 600 talents as the condition of peace. At this time a daughter of Ariarathes is betrothed to Eumenes, by whose means he obtains more favourable terms, and is admitted to alliance with the Romans. In 183—179 he was the ally of Eumenes against Pharnaces.

Ariarathes IV received an embassy from Rome after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Polybius relates the particulars. Demetrius Soter applied to the senate for leave to claim the kingdom of Syria, which the senate refused; and an embassy was sent to Asia. Antiochus Epiphanes dies at the close of B. C. 164, which fixes that embassy to 163. Ariarathes therefore was still living in the middle of 163. The succession of Ariarathes V, who sent ambassadors to Rome to renew the alliance with the republic, is the next fact recorded in the fragments of Polybius. He had succeeded while Lysias was still master of Antioch, who was slain by Demetrius Soter in the autumn of 162, which carries back that embassy to Rome (from whence it had returned before the communication with Lysias) to an earlier point in 162. These circumstances determine the death of the father and the succession of the son to the winter of B. C. 16 $\frac{3}{4}$  the winter of Ol. 154. 2, and Ariarathes IV reigned B. C. 220—163 both inclusive, about 58 years.

8 *Ariarathes V Philopator* was among the allies who joined the consul Crassus in the war against Aristonicus. His death occurred in that war. But Crassus fell in B. C. 130, to which year we may accordingly refer the death of Ariarathes V in the 33rd year current of his reign.

Demetrius Soter revenged the rejection of his alliance by bringing forward Holophernes the supposititious son of Ariarathes IV, and Ariarathes being driven from his kingdom took refuge with the Romans in the summer of 158, by whom he was restored. Demetrius was to have from Holophernes 1000 talents for this service.

According to Appian the Romans appointed Ariarathes and Holophernes to reign together, and this joint government



seems to be confirmed by Polybius. It did not however last long, and Polybius about the year 154 describes Ariarathes as sole king.

Ariarathes was the ally of Attalus in his war against Prusias in 154, and his son Demetrius commanded the succours on that occasion.

9 *Ariarathes VI* the youngest son of Ariarathes was a minor at his accession; for Laodice, to secure the authority to herself, destroyed five of her six sons by poison; the youngest, who was yet a child, was rescued from the cruelty of his mother, and after she had been put to death obtained the kingdom. If Demetrius, who had commanded an army in 154, had been living at the death of his father in 130, he would have been at the least 40 years of age. It is not therefore probable that he was one of the sons of Laodice, whose youngest son was at that time a child.

Ariarathes VI married Laodice the sister of Mithridates Eupator, and was murdered by Mithridates, who also put to death Ariarathes the son of Laodice, whom he slew with his own hand. But the Cappadocians revolt from Mithridates and appoint another Ariarathes, also a son of Ariarathes VI and Laodice, to the kingdom of his brother. But this young prince was overthrown in battle and expelled by Mithridates, and died soon after of grief and mortification. Upon his death the neighbouring king Nicomedes produced a claimant, whom he affirmed to be a third son of Laodice; and sent Laodice herself to Rome as a witness; while Mithridates with equal effrontery produced another pretender, whom he called a descendant of Ariarathes V. But the Roman senate, rejecting both, declared Paphlagonia and Cappadocia free and independent.

In the two sons of Ariarathes VI the royal family was extinct, and, as the Cappadocians desired a king, Ariobarzanes was appointed by the direction of the Romans about the year 93. The preceding events—the death of Ariarathes VI<sup>a</sup>, the restoration of his son; then, after a few months' interval, the warlike preparation and death of the young king, the advancement of his brother by the Cappadocians, his ex-

<sup>a</sup> In *Fast. Hellen.* vol. 3 p. 446 lines 11 and 15 for *Ariarathes V* the reader will substitute *Ariarathes VI*.

pulsion by Mithridates, and his death soon after ; and lastly the reference of the question to Rome—these successive occurrences might occupy two or three years, which carry back the death of Ariarathes VI to about B. C. 96, 34 years after the death of his father. And, as he succeeded in his childhood, and left sons who were at least nearly grown to manhood, we cannot well assign a shorter period to his reign.

10 *Ariobarzanes I* is expelled by Mithridates and flies to Rome. He was restored to his kingdom by Sulla in 92. We may place the expulsion of Ariobarzanes and his flight to Rome in the preceding year 93, and this agrees with the time of Tigranes, who was then reigning, and who had been sent back from Parthia some time before. But Tigranes began to reign in the year 96.

Ariobarzanes was expelled again in B. C. 88, and restored at the peace in 84. When Lucullus passed the Euphrates in B. C. 69, Ariobarzanes is named again by Memnon. In the year 66 the kingdom of Ariobarzanes was again occupied by Mithridates. He was restored by Pompey, and resigned the kingdom to his son. This resignation probably occurred while Pompey was in Syria before the death of Mithridates, and Ariobarzanes might reign about 30 years, from his appointment in 93 to 64 inclusive.

11 *Ariobarzanes II Eusebes*. Cicero mentions “king Ariobarzanes” at the year 57, when Gabinius after his consulship proceeded to the province of Syria ; and in 51 king Ariobarzanes with his brother Ariarathes and the ancient friends of his house came to the camp of Cicero when proconsul of Cilicia. The brother Ariarathes was at Rome in B. C. 45.

Ariobarzanes supported Pompey against Cæsar, who forgave him and enlarged his territories. He was slain in 42 by Cassius ; he consequently reigned B. C. 63—42 about 21 years.

12 *Ariarathes VII* succeeded Ariobarzanes II ; for Antony after the battle of Philippi in 42 communicated with Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He was the son of Ariobarzanes II (rather than the brother mentioned by Cicero) because, according to Strabo, the family of Ariobarzanes I, who was elected king in 93, reigned for three generations. Ariarathes was deposed and put to death by Antony in the consulship

of Gellius and Nerva B. C. 36, when he had reigned about 6 years.

13 *Archelaus*, who was appointed king by Antony in 36, was the grandson of Archelaus the general of Mithridates in 88. He received an accession of territory from Augustus in B. C. 20 and reigned 50 years. Tiberius when at Rhodes had been neglected by Archelaus, and after his accession to the empire called the king of Cappadocia to Rome, brought charges against him before the senate, and the king oppressed with age and infirmities died soon after; whether by a natural death, or slain by order of Tiberius, is uncertain. Cappadocia was reduced to the form of a province. Archelaus began to reign U. C. 718 B. C. 36. His 50th year coincided with U. C. 768 A. D. 15, which was also the first year of Tiberius. He appears to have been called to Rome in A. D. 15 and to have died in A. D. 17.

#### § 10 LUSTRA ROMANA.

The first census of Roman citizens which belongs to the present period is that of B. C. 280. But it will be expedient to begin with the census taken in B. C. 293, on account of an apparent difference between Livy and the Capitoline Marbles.

294 *Megello et Regulo coss.* Fast. Capitolin. "The censors P. Cornelius Arvina C. Marcius Rutilus hold the 30th lustrum." Livy: "A lustrum was celebrated in that year [sc. B. C. 293] by P. Cornelius Arvina C. Marcius Rutilus the censors.—These were the 26th from the first censors, and this was the 19th lustrum." It appears from Livy that, although these censors entered upon their censorship in B. C. 294, yet in this, as in some other instances, they numbered the citizens towards the close of their office, in the year of the following consuls. Livy omits the first ten lustra which were held before the office of censor was appointed. The first lustrum of the first censors according to Livy himself was the 11th, for the preceding census he calls the 10th. The 19th lustrum "from the first censors" we may perhaps interpret the 19th exclusive



of the first; and the numbers of Livy  $11 + 19 = 30$  will agree with the Marbles.

- 289 *Valerio et Cædicio*. In this year a census was held, five years after the accession of the former censors to office in B. C. 294.
- 280 *Lævino et Coruncanio*. Cn. Domitius is the first plebeian censor; and the narrative of the Epitomator of Livy describes this census after the first campaign with Pyrrhus in 280 and before the second in 279. We may therefore place the census of Domitius in the consulship of Lævinus and Coruncanianus rather than in the year of the following consuls. The census was probably taken in the beginning of 279, towards the close of U. C. Varr. 474.
- 275 *Curio II et Cornelio*. C. Fabricius Luscinus Q. Æmilius Papus censors. The account of the Epitomator of Livy will place this lustrum in the year of Curius and Cornelius, five years from the former lustrum in the consulship of Lævinus and Coruncanianus. We may refer this census to the beginning of B. C. 274.
- 272 *Papirio II et Carvilio II*. Man. Curius Dentatus L. Papirius Cursor censors. Sigonius ascribes to them the 34th lustrum. That four lustra were reckoned by the Capitoline Marbles between B. C. 293, which was the 30th, and B. C. 264, which was the 35th, is manifest. Either therefore a census occurred here or in the time of those censors who preceded B. C. 280. In either case the interval would be irregular. In the present instance the censors Curius and Papirius are in office 3 years after their predecessors and 7 years before the 35th lustrum.
- 265 *Q. Fabio III L. Mamilio*. Fasti Capitolini: "The censors Cn. Cornelius Blasio C. Marcius Rutilus II (who now received the name of Censorinus) held the 35th lustrum." The census may be perhaps referred to the beginning of B. C. 264.
- 258 *Calatino et Paterculo*. Fasti Capitol. "The censor C. Duilius son of Marcus grandson of Marcus" . . . The rest is obliterated. But the Marble here recorded the 36th lustrum.

- 253 *Servilio et Sempronio*. Fast. Capitolin. "C. Junius Pera the censor abdicated, L. Postumius Megellus died in his magistracy."
- 252 *Cotta et Gemino*. Fast. Capitol. "The censors M' Valerius Maximus Messalla P. Sempronius Sophus held the 37th lustrum."
- 247 *Cæcilio II et Fabio*. Fast. Capitol. "The censors A. Atilius Calatinus A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus held the 38th lustrum."
- 241 *Manlio et Cercone*. Fast. Capitol. "The censors C. Aurelius son of Lucius" . . . The rest is wanting. The numbers of this census are preserved by Eusebius.
- 236 *Lentulo et Varo*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors are L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus Q. Lutatius Cerco. This last died in his magistracy."
- 234 *Postumio et Carvilio*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors C. Atilius Bulbus A. Postumius Albinus held the 40th lustrum."
- 231 *Mathone et Masone*. Fast. Capitol. "The censors are T. Manlius Torquatus Q. Fulvius Flaccus, but being irregularly appointed they abdicated."
- 230 *Æmilio et Junio*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus M. Sempronius Tuditanus held the 41st lustrum."
- 225 *Æmilio et Regulo*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors C. Claudius Centho M. Junius Pera held the 42nd lustrum."
- 220 *Veturio et Lutatio*. The censors L. Æmilius Papus C. Flaminius hold a lustrum. The sons of freedmen (and therefore the grandsons of manumitted slaves), who had formerly been distributed among all the tribes, are collected into four tribes, the Esquiline, Palatine, Suburran and Colline.
- 214 *Q. Fabio IV Marcello III*. M. Atilius Regulus and P. Furius Philus are created censors. The death of P. Furius prevented the lustrum (which would have been deferred till the second year, the beginning of 213). M. Atilius abdicated his office.
- 210 *Lævino et Marcello IV*. L. Veturius Philo and P. Licinius Crassus the pontifex maximus are censors. But Veturius died and Crassus abdicated.

- 209 *Fabio V Flacco IV.* M. Cornelius Cethegus P. Sempronius Tuditanus are created censors. The census was taken in the following year, towards the close of their office.
- 204 *Cethego et Tuditano.* Fast. Capitol. "The censors M. Livius Salinator C. Claudius Nero held the 45th lustrum." Nero held the lustrum, and in the first year, before the comitia for the ensuing consuls. As this lustrum was the 45th, and the census of B. C. 225 the 42nd, it is plain that two lustra occurred between in the Capitoline Marbles, which agree therefore with Livy, by whom those two lustra are recorded.
- 199 *Lentulo et Villio.* Fast. Capitolin. "The censors P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus P. Ælius Pætus held the 46th lustrum."
- 194 *Scipione II et Sempronio.* Fast Capitolin. "The censors Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus C. Cornelius Cethegus hold the 47th lustrum." The census was not taken till the following year. Separate seats for the senators at the Roman games were appointed by these censors.
- 189 *Manlio et Fulvio.* Fast. Capitolin. "The censors T. Quinctius Flamininus M. Claudius Marcellus hold the 48th lustrum." These censors were created towards the close of this consulship, about the beginning of B. C. 188. They held the lustrum early in the year of the following consuls, and we may refer the census to the end of March or beginning of April 188, a few months after the accession of the censors to their office.

Duker explains the deficiency of the numbers in the 44th and 47th lustra (for which see the Table given below) by supposing that the citizens on service in the armies, who, according to Livy himself, were computed in the 45th lustrum, were not included in these. This explanation may account for the numbers in the former case but not in the latter. In B. C. 208, during the 44th lustrum, 21 legions were employed, two of which were stationed at Rome; and, if the soldiers of 19 legions were omitted in that census, this omission would account for the difference between the numbers in the 44th lustrum and the numbers in the 45th.



But in B. C. 193 it appears from Livy (who describes the forces of that year in Liguria and Spain) that no great armies were employed ; and yet the numbers are less by 114,600 than they are found to be five years afterwards.

- 184 *Pulchro et Licino*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors L. Valerius Flaccus M. Porcius Cato hold the 49th lustrum."
- 179 *Manlio et Fulvio*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors M. Æmilius Lepidus M. Fulvius Nobilior hold the 50th lustrum." These censors were created in the beginning of this consulship towards the spring of B. C. 179. The lustrum was celebrated in 178, towards the close of this censorship.
- 174 *Postumio et Mucio*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors Q. Fulvius Flaccus A. Postumius Albinus hold the 51st lustrum." The censors were appointed in this year, but the lustrum was in the year following, the year of Albinus and Popillius.
- 169 *Marcio et Capione*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors C. Claudius Pulcher Ti. Sempronius Gracchus hold the 52nd lustrum." The election of these censors may be placed between March 15 and Ap. 1 B. C. 169. They held the census in their last month, about September B. C. 168, and asked for an extension of their term to 14 months longer, which was refused.
- 164 *Torquato et Cassio*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors L. Æmilius Paullus Q. Marcius Philippus hold the 53rd lustrum."
- 159 *Dolabella et Fulvio*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica M. Popillius Lænas hold the 54th lustrum."
- 154 *Opimio et Albino*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors M. Valerius Messalla C. Cassius Longinus hold the 55th lustrum." This lustrum was held in the year of Fulvius and Annus B. C. 153.
- 147 *Scipione et Druso*. Fast. Capitolin. "[The censors L. Cornelius] Lentulus Lupus L. Marcius [Censorinus] hold the 56th lustrum."
- 142 *Metello et Fabio*. Fast. Capitolin. "[The censors P. Cor-

nelius Scipio Afric]anus Æmilianus [L. Mummius Achaicus] hold the 57th lustrum." The lustrum was held by the censors in the second year B. C. 141.

136 *Furio et Serrano*. Fast. Capitolin. .... "hold the 58th lustrum." The names of the censors are supplied by Sigonius from conjecture. The lustrum is preserved in the Epitomator of Livy.

131 *Licinio et Valerio*. Fast. Capitolin. "The censors Q. Cæcil[ius Metellus Macedonicus Q. Pompeius hold the 59th lustrum.]"

125 *Hypsæo et Flacco*. The censors are Cn. Servilius Cæpio and L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla. The census is in the Epitomator of Livy.

[120] Between the 58th lustrum B. C. 136 and the 63rd B. C. 108 four lustra necessarily intervened in the Marbles. Three of these may be traced in Livy at 130, 125, 114. Sigonius therefore from conjecture supplies the censors who held the 61st lustrum, and whom he places at B. C. 120.

115 *Æmilio et Metello*. The censors were L. Metellus and Cn. Domitius. The census is preserved in the Epitome of Livy, and may be placed in B. C. 114, within the last six months of their office.

109 *Metello et Silano*. Fast. Capitolin. .... in *mag. m. e.* The names of the censors are obliterated.

108 *Galba et Scauro*. Fast. Capitolin. "[The censors] ..... held the 63rd lustrum."

102 *Mario IV et Catulo*. One of the censors was Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus. We may conclude with Sigonius that Metellus was censor in 102, five years before the following censors (who are fixed to B. C. 97 by the Capitoline Marbles), and that he held a lustrum in 101.

97 *Lentulo et Crasso*. Fast. Capitolin. "[The censors L. Valerius] Flaccus M. Anton[ius hold the 65th lustrum.]"

92 *Claudio et Perperna*. The censors are Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and L. Licinius Crassus. As no census was taken in the next censorship B. C. 89, it is probable that there was a lustrum in this.

89 *Pompeio et Porcio*. Fast. Capitolin. "[The censors are P.

- Licinius] Crassus L. Julius [Cæsar].” That no census was taken appears from Cicero.
- 86 *Cinna II et Mario VII.* Fast. Capitolin. “The censors L. Marcius Philippus M. Pe[rperna].” ..... That these censors held a lustrum may be collected from Cicero. The numbers are preserved by Hieronymus apud Eusebium.
- 70 *Pompeio et Crasso.* The censors are Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Gellius. The Epitomator, who had omitted all the lustra after the 62nd B. C. 114, gives the numbers of this, which was held 42 years before the census of B. C. 28, which determines it to the year of Pompey and Crassus.
- 65 *Cotta et Torquato.* The censors are Q. Lutatius Catulus M. Licinius Crassus.
- 64 *Cæsare et Figulo.* Dio attests that censors were created in this year, but that they performed no functions. One of the censors was L. Aurelius Cotta.
- 61 *Pisone et Messalla.* Dio relates that censors were created in this year, although their names have not been preserved. Cicero in December mentions these censors. In the February following a census was expected, but this expected lustrum was not completed.
- 55 *Pompeio II Crasso II.* Censors in this year are marked by Cicero, although their names are lost. As we learn from Cicero that they were still in office in October B. C. 54, it is evident that their accession to the censorship could not have been earlier than April B. C. 55. No census was held by these censors.
- 50 *Paullo et Marcello.* The censors are Ap. Claudius L. Calpurnius Piso. The Lapis Ancyranus attests that no lustrum occurred in this censorship.
- 42 *Planco et Lepido.* The Lapis Colotianus: “..... Antonius P. Sulpicius the censors held no lustrum.”
- 28 *Cæsare VI Agrippa II.* The first lustrum of Octavianus Cæsar.

Censorinus reckons 75 lustra, of which the last was celebrated by Vespasian A. D. 74. Three lustra were held by Augustus, one by Claudius, and one by Vespasian. As the last was the 75th lustrum, the first of these



would be the 71st, and the preceding lustrum B. C. 70 of the censors Lentulus and Gellius was the 70th. The *Fasti Capitolini* mark the 63rd lustrum at the year of Galba and Scaurus B. C. 108. It will follow that six lustra intervened between the census of B. C. 108, which is the 63rd in the Marbles, and the census of B. C. 70, which is the 70th according to Censorinus. Sigonius reckons three lustra within that interval, and there is no good reason for excluding a census from the censorship of Crassus and Domitius B. C. 92. Hence we obtain a fourth lustrum. The other two we cannot trace. We might assign them to the 15 years which preceded B. C. 70; but, if Asconius and the Scholiast upon Cicero be accurate in the assertion that censors were discontinued *plurimos annos* (or from the time of Sulla, as the Scholiast implies), the two deficient lustra cannot be inserted there. It remains that we must either reject the authority of Asconius and the Scholiast upon this point, or conclude the Capitoline Marbles to have followed a different computation from that of Censorinus.

22 *Marcello et Arruntio*. The censors are Paullus Æmilius Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus. Paullus Lepidus was the son of Lucius and the nephew of Marcus the triumvir. This was the last censorship in which both the censors were private citizens.

8 *Censorino et Asinio*. The second lustrum of Augustus.

A. D. 14 *Pompeio et Appuleio*. The third lustrum of Augustus.

48 *Vitellio et Vipsanio*. The lustrum of Claudius. He was censor in U. C. Varr. 800 A. D. 47, and completed the lustrum, according to ancient practice, in the second year U. C. Varr. 801 A. D. 48.

74 *Vespasiano V et Tito III* U. C. Varr. 827. The date of Censorinus. The numbers of this lustrum are not delivered to us.

These registers were preserved with religious care in the families of those who had borne the office of censor; and, as far as they have escaped errors in the transcription, may be regarded as authentic documents. The numbers of the Roman

census appear to have described the males of military age. The expressions which Livy always employs—*censa civium capita*—might seem to speak more largely, but the terms of Dionysius of Halicarnassus make it clear that the enumeration was limited to the military age. Fabius Pictor so understood the first census. When therefore the expressions of Dionysius are more general, we may interpret them in the same manner. Niebuhr justly argues from Dionysius and Livy that the numbers in a census expressed the “serviceable men,” that is, “from the putting on of the manly gown to the end of the 60th year.”

The military age at Rome was from 17 to 60. Till the age of 45 complete the citizens were liable to foreign service. The period within which military service was required probably began at the entrance into the 17th year, and concluded at the entrance into the 46th, although what number of years’ service was required within those limits is not distinctly delivered to us.

At the 46th year another period of duty commenced—the period of home service, which extended to the close of the 60th year. “When the citizens arrive at the fifth period,” says Varro, “and have attained 60 years, then they enjoy an immunity from public services and duties.” Varro had divided human life into five grades or periods. The fourth extended from 45 to 60, the fifth comprehended all above 60 years of age. Dionysius marks the military duty. “The men from the age of 17 to 45, who were the *juniores*, were liable to foreign service; the men from 46 to 60, who were the *seniores*, were liable to service at home, and were called to defend the city.” But since it appears from Varro that after the age of 60 the citizens did not vote in the comitia, and since the civil duties commenced with the *toga virilis*, it follows that the period for military service was nearly commensurate with the period for civil functions; and the description of Livy, when properly understood, will nearly agree with the description of Dionysius. It must however be observed that the expressions neither of Livy nor of Dionysius are precisely accurate. The words of Livy, *censa civium capita*, must be limited to citizens under 60 years of age; the terms of Dionysius, οἱ ἐν ᾗβῃ, which properly describe the men under 46 years, must be ex-

tended to the men as far as the age of 60, comprehending those who are called seniores by Varro.

We may conclude from these testimonies that the enumeration included male citizens from 17 to 60 years of age. The proportion of these to the whole we may assume to be about 4746 in 20,160 persons<sup>b</sup>. In the following table the total numbers are computed according to this proportion. It was not necessary to repeat these at every step of the register. In the 51st lustrum the numbers are nearly the same as they had been in the 30th. After some fluctuations they had returned in 120 years to about the same amount. After the 51st lustrum the increase was great and rapid, and an occasional view of the total numbers is given in order to shew the numbers of the Romans of either sex and of every age, who were distributed through the empire<sup>c</sup> at these periods. It is to be remembered that the increase was produced not merely by the multiplying of the former numbers, but also by the admission of new citizens<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> In Fast. Hellen. Vol. 2 p. 387, it is shewn that the proportion of males from the age of 20 to 60 is 4140, and from 15 to 20 is 1010, in 20,160 persons. If we assume  $\frac{3}{5}$  of 1010, or 606, for the proportion from 17 to 20, we obtain  $4140 + 606 = 4746$  for the number of males in 20,160 persons.

<sup>c</sup> The expressions of many writers are indistinct or erroneous upon this point. Syncellus calls the numbers of the 73rd lustrum *Ῥώμης οὐκίτροπας*. Goldsmith in his Roman History imagines that the numbers registered by Augustus and Claudius were contained within the walls of the city. Kuster ad Suid. v. *Ἀγροστος* remarks *Vide Casaubonum contra Baronium et Usarium in Annalibus ad A. M. 3996, qui recte observarunt Suidam hic censum urbis pro censu totius orbis Romani lectori obtrudere*. The observation of Usher Annals p. 786 is to the following effect: *There was a second muster of the citizens made at Rome, in which were numbered 4,233,000 Roman citizens; as is gathered out of the fragments of the Ancyran Marble. In Suidas in Ἀγρ. the number is far less of those that were mustered, 4,101,017. which yet very ridiculously he obtrudes upon us, not for the muster of the city only, but of the world. But in reality the terms of Suidas, when properly understood and li-*

mitted, are less liable to exception than those of Usher himself when he mentions "the muster of the city." The census contained an account of Roman citizens, wherever they happened to reside. The numbers of the very first census, 80,000 or 84,700, were not inhabitants of the city only, but of the territory, of Rome. In B.C. 88 80,000 Romans were resident in Asia alone: *octoginta millia civium Romanorum in Asia per urbes negotiandi gratia dispersa* Val. Max. IX. 2, 3 extern. The preceding census would doubtless have taken account of these. Augustus in A.D. 4 took a census, which has been shewn to be a partial enumeration; and yet this extended to the whole of Italy. Suidas describes *πάντας τοὺς οὐκίτροπας Ῥωμαίων*—not the total population, but the Roman inhabitants: and these were *ἄνδρες*—the men of the state. Understood in this sense, the description is correct. That census registered the male adult citizens from the age of 17 to 60 who were resident in various countries, and were mingled with the provincials in all parts of the empire.

Usher without good reason refers the account of Suidas to the second lustrum of Augustus rather than to the first, with which it more nearly agrees in the amount.



B. C.	Lustr.	Numbers.	Total Numb.
293	30	262,322 .....	1,114,288
289 <sup>a</sup>	(31)	272,000	
279	(32)	278,222	
274	(33)	271,224	
272 <sup>a</sup>	(34)		
264	35	282,234	
258 <sup>a</sup>	(36)		
252 <sup>a</sup>	37	297,797	
247 <sup>a</sup>	38	251,222 (241,222)	
241 <sup>a</sup>	(39)	250,000 (260,000)	
234 <sup>a</sup>	40		
230 <sup>a</sup>	41		
225 <sup>a</sup>	42		
219	(43)	270,213	
208	(44)	137,108	
204 <sup>a</sup>	45	214,000	
199 <sup>a</sup>	46		
193	47	†143,704	
188	48	258,318	
184 <sup>a</sup>	49		
178	50	273,294 (263,244)	
173	51	269,015 (257,231)	
168	52	312,805 .....	1,328,728
164 <sup>a</sup>	53	327,022 (337,452)	
158	54	338,314	
153	55	324,000	
147 <sup>a</sup>	56	322,000	
141	57	328,442	
136 <sup>a</sup>	58	323,000	
130	(59)	317,823	
125	(60)	390,736	
[120 <sup>a</sup> ]	(61)		
114	(62)	394,336 .....	1,675,055
108 <sup>a</sup>	63		
101	(64)		
97	(65)		
92 <sup>a</sup>	(66)		
86 <sup>a</sup>	(67)	463,000 .....	1,966,725
70 <sup>a</sup>	*70	450,000	
28	*71	4,063,000 .....	17,258,761
8	*72	4,233,000	
A.D. 14	*73	4,097,000	
48	*74	5,984,072 (5,944,072)....	25,419,066
74	*75		

<sup>d</sup> See on this subject Fast. Roman. Vol. 2 p. 7—10.

<sup>a</sup> The years thus marked are those in which the censors entered upon their office. Where this mark is absent, the *lustrum* is referred to the second Julian year. This description, however, does not refer to *lustra* 71, 72, 73, 75.

† These numbers are probably defective.

\* These six *lustra* are numbered on the authority of Censorinus. He determines the last to be the 75th *lustrum*, and the preceding five are fixed by Suetonius and the Lapis Ancyranus.

## § 11 PONTIFICES MAXIMI.

The *pontifex maximus*, or *supreme pontiff*, was created by the people, and for life. Those who held this office within the period embraced by the third part of this chronology, of whom memorials remain, shall be briefly described in chronological order.

- 1 *L. Cæcilius Metellus* was consul in B. C. 251, triumphed as proconsul over the Carthaginians in B. C. 250, was consul a second time in B. C. 248 and pontifex maximus in 244 : Cic. Senect. c. 9 *Cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum [post annum 248] pontifex maximus factus esset, XXII annos ei sacerdotio præfuit.* Repeated by Valerius Max. VIII. 13, 2. Conf. Livii Epit. 19 *de Metello P. M.* Plinius H. N. VII. 48 *M. Valerius Corvinus centum annos implevit.—Æquavit ejus vitæ spatium Metellus pontifex.*
- 2 *L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus* succeeded Metellus in B. C. 222. Livy XXV. 2 relates his death in B. C. 213.
- 3 *P. Licinius Crassus* succeeded Metellus in B. C. 212 : Liv. XXV. 5 *Comitia pontifici maximo creando sunt habita.—Tres ingenti certamine petierunt, Q. Fulvius Flaccus consul, qui et ante bis consul et censor fuerat, et T. Manlius Torquatus, et ipse duobus consulatibus et censura insignis, et P. Licinius Crassus, qui et ædilitatem curulem petiturus erat. Hic senes honoratosque juvenis in eo certamine vicit. Ante hunc intra centum annos et viginti nemo præter P. Cornelium Calussam pontifex maximus creatus fuerat qui sella curuli non sedisset.* Mentioned in Liv. XXVIII. 38 Cic. Senect. c. 17. Crassus was censor in B. C. 210, consul in 205. He died in B. C. 183 : Liv. XXXIX. 46 *P. Licinius Crassus pontifex maximus mortuus est; in cujus locum M. Sempronius Tuditanus pontifex est cooptatus; pontifex maximus est creatus C. Servilius Geminus.*
- 4 *C. Servilius Geminus* B. C. 183. He was consul in B. C. 203, dictator in 202. He died *exitu anni Albino et Pisone coss.* Liv. XL. 42. In the spring of B. C. 179.
- 5 *M. Æmilius Lepidus* succeeded upon the death of Geminus : Liv. XL. 42 *Pontifex in locum (Gemini) a collegio cooptatus est Q. Fulvius Flaccus; at pontifex maximus M. Æmilius Lepidus, quum multi clari viri petissent.*

Lepidus was consul in B. C. 187 and censor in 179. He was six times *princeps senatus*; the fourth time in B. C. 164, on the testimony of Plutarch and the Epitomator of Livy. The fifth time in 159, and the sixth in 154: conf. Liv. Epit. 47. 48. He died in B. C. 150, when Scipio Nasica succeeded him.

- 6 *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. Cic. Senect. c. 14 *Hujus P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus* [sc. in B. C. 150] *pontifex maximus factus est*. Consul in B. C. 138. Nasica put Tib. Gracchus to death in B. C. 133, and died at Pergamus soon after. See the testimonies in F. H. III (2nd ed.) Index v. *P. Corn. Scip. Nasica*.
- 7 *P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus* was elected pontifex maximus after the death of Nasica about B. C. 132. See the testimonies in F. H. III (2nd edition, 1851) Index v. *Licinius Crassus Mucianus*. Crassus, who was consul in B. C. 131, conducted the war against Aristonicus, and was slain in that war in 130.
- 8 *L. Cæcilius Metellus* was pontifex maximus in B. C. 114. See the testimonies in F. H. III (2nd edit.) Index v. *Cæcilius Metellus*. He probably died in 103, 27 years after the death of Crassus. But whether he was the immediate successor of Crassus does not appear. Possibly some other, whose name is not preserved to us, intervened between them.
- 9 *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* was tribune of the people in B. C. 103 in the third consulship of Marius, and was created pontifex maximus, as it seems, in 102 in the fourth consulship: Liv. Epit. 67 *Marius—quartum consulatum dissimulanter captans consecutus est*. *Cn. Domitius pontifex maximus populi suffragio creatus est*. Val. Max. VI. 5, 5 *Cn. Domitius tribunus plebis M. Scaurum principem civitatis in judicium populi devocavit, &c.—Justitia vicit odium—&c. Quem (Domitium) populus cum propter alias virtutes tum hoc nomine libentius et consulem [B. C. 96] et censorem [B. C. 92] et pontificem maximum fecit*. His popular law when tribune *de sacerdotiis* is described by Cicero 2 in Rullum c. 7.
- 10 *Q. Mucius Scaevola* was consul in B. C. 95, succeeded Domitius as pontifex maximus after B. C. 92. His death in



B. C. 82 is recorded by Cicero Nat. Deor. III. 32 *Ante simulachrum Vestæ pontifex maximus est Q. Scævula trucidatus.* Liv. Epit. 86 *Q. Mucius Scævula pontifex maximus fugiens in vestibulo ædis Vestæ occisus est.* Appian. Civ. I. 88 Μάριος—Βρούτῳ στρατηγούντι τῆς πόλεως ἐπέσπελλε—κτεῖναι Πούπλιον Ἀντίστιον καὶ Παπίριον Κάρβωνα ἕτερον, καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον, καὶ Μούκιον Σκαιόλαν τὸν τὴν μεγίστην Ῥωμαίοις ἱερωσύνην ἱερωμένον. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶνδε ἀνηρέθησαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ—Δομίτιος δ' ἐκτρέχων παρὰ τὴν ἑξοδὸν ἀνηρέθη, καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου Σκαιόλας. Add Augustine Civ. D. III. 28.

11 *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius* was elected before his consulship: Auctor de vir. illustr. p. 293 *Pius Numidici filius—adolescens in petitione pontificatus consularibus viris prælatus est.* Therefore he succeeded Scævula in B. C. 82, for he was consul in B. C. 80. Metellus joined Sulla in B. C. 82. He conducted the war against Sertorius in 78—72, jointly with Pompey in the latter years. They triumphed together for their victory in December B. C. 71. Metellus died in 63.

12 *C. Julius Cæsar* in the consulship of Cicero at the age of 37, before his prætorship, was elected pontifex maximus: Dio XXXVII. 37 ὁ Καῖσαρ, τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς τελευτήσαντος, τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, καίτοι καὶ νέος καὶ μηδέπω ἐστρατηγηκώς, ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτῆς—λαβών. τοῦτό τε ἔπραξε καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς—ἀπεδείχθη. Sueton. Cæs. c. 13 *Pontificatum maximum petiit, non sine profusissima largitione. In qua reputans magnitudinem æris alieni, cum mane ad comitia descenderet, prædixisse matri osculanti fertur domum se nisi pontificem non reversurum, atque ita duos potentissimos competitores multumque et ætate et dignitate antecedentes superavit, ut plura ipse in eorum tribubus suffragia quam uterque in omnibus tulerit.* Plutarch. Cæs. c. 7 Μετέλλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτήσαντος, καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην περιμάχητον οὖσαν Ἰσαυρικοῦ καὶ Κάλου μετιόντων,—οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ καταβὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀντιπαρήγγελλεν.—τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀδακρυτὴ προπεμπούσης, ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὴν, “ὦ μήτερ,” εἶπεν, “τήμερον ἢ ἀρχιερέα τὸν υἱὸν ἢ φυγάδα ὄψει.” διενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς ψήφου—ἐκράτησε. His competitor Catulus is mentioned by

Sallust Catil. c. 49 *Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema ætate maximis honoribus usus ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat.*

- 13 *M. Æmilius Lepidus* upon the death of Cæsar in B. C. 44 was elected his successor: Appian. Civ. II. 132 ἡρουντο ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἱερωσύνην. Hence at B. C. 43 the triumvir is called by Dio XLV. 17 τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Λεπίδου. After his fall in B. C. 36 he was permitted by Augustus to hold it till his death in B. C. 12.
- 14 *C. Cæsar Augustus* upon the death of Lepidus was created pontifex maximus March 6 B. C. 12. From this time this high office was always borne by the emperors, and is inscribed among other titles upon the imperial coins, till it was laid aside by the Christian emperors.
- 15 *Tiberius Cæsar* in the 7th month after the death of Augustus was appointed pontifex maximus March 10 A. D. 15. From the election of Metellus B. C. 244 to the death of Tiberius in March A. D. 37, U. C. Varr. 510—789 both inclusive, 280 years were occupied by 15 or more probably 16 pontiffs.

#### § 12 GREEK AUTHORS.

The literary names in the Tables of this third part, and in the following Catalogue, will sometimes occur in a different order. Here it has been attempted either to arrange them in the order in which they flourished or to place together contemporaries who were engaged in the same pursuits or studied in the same school. But in the Tables of the third Volume of the Fasti Hellenici, where the authors are described at the years annexed to them in this catalogue, it was necessary to treat the literary history according to the nature of our materials. Sometimes therefore an author is described at the year of his birth, sometimes at the year of his death. Sometimes the account is given at some particular point of his history which happens to be marked. Hence for instance in the Tables Evander is placed at the year 215 and Hermippus at 203. But in this list the order is reversed, because Hermippus, who was still writing at that year, had studied under Callimachus 30 years before, while Evander in 215 began to preside in his school. Hermippus therefore seems to have preceded him, and in this list is placed before him.

Together with the names mentioned in the Tables some others are introduced; and especially the beginning of the Catalogue exhibits many of those who flourished in the times of the successors of Alexander, and preceded the 125th Olympiad.

- 1 Zoilus began to be eminent before the rise of Demosthenes, and continued to write after the death of Philip, which brings him to the reign of Alexander.
- 2 Heraclides Ponticus was the disciple of Plato, who died B. C. 347, of Speusippus who taught B. C. 347—339, and of Aristotle who taught at Athens B. C. 334—322. Heraclides therefore was contemporary with the disciples of Aristotle and must have been young at the death of Plato, whom he probably survived full 40 years.
- 3 Philetas of Cos. B. C. 271. If he was the instructor of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and lived to reach the times of Aratus, he was probably very young at the death of Philip in 336. He might survive that period 40 or 50 years, although there is no reason to suppose that he lived to advanced age.
- 4 Pyrrho, the disciple of Anaxarchus. If Anaxarchus flourished in Ol. 110 B. C. 339, Pyrrho his disciple and companion may be placed at Ol. 111 B. C. 335. Epicurus heard and conversed with Nausiphanes the disciple of Pyrrho at least before 310. In that year Epicurus began to teach at Lampsacus; which would carry back the communication of Nausiphanes with Pyrrho probably to B. C. 335. The other disciples of Pyrrho were contemporary with the disciples of Aristotle. Timon flourished in the reign of Philadelphus. We may therefore suppose Pyrrho to have been 40 years of age in B. C. 335, which places his birth at about 375. This would be consistent with the account of Suidas that he lived in the reign of Philip and at the 111th Olympiad. The age of his master Anaxarchus will not admit a higher date for his birth. As he lived to the age of 90 years, his life would be prolonged to B. C. 285. Pyrrho left nothing in writing.
- 5 Cineas, B. C. 280. The disciple of Demosthenes.
- 6 Dicearchus, the disciple of Aristotle, flourished about B. C. 326—287.



- 7 Diodorus Cronus taught Zeno the founder of the Stoics, and died in the time of Ptolemy Soter and of Stilpo.
- 8 Philo dialecticus. Contemporary with Zeno of Citium.
- 9 Clitarchus, son of the historian Dino, was the companion of Alexander. His veracity was questioned.
- 10 Onesicritus, the pilot of Alexander's ship in 326. He is often quoted by Strabo upon India, and his narratives appear extravagant and absurd.
- 11 Cyrsilus, a companion of Alexander, quoted on Armenia by Strabo.
- 12 Medius of Larissa. Present at the last illness of Alexander.
- 13 Androstheneſ. In the service of Alexander.
- 14 Aristobulus served under Alexander, and wrote a history of his expedition. Aristobulus did not begin to write his history till after the death of Alexander, and in his 84th year, and lived to past 90 years.
- 15 Aristoxenus, the disciple of Aristotle and the rival of Theophrastus.
- 16 Clytus of Miletus a disciple of Aristotle.
- 17 Clearchus of Soli, a disciple of Aristotle.
- 18 Theocritus of Chios was at Chios when a letter from Alexander to the people of Chios was received. He was put to death by the first Antigonuſ. He flourished therefore, like his rival Theopompus, in the reign of Alexander, and his death happened before B. C. 301.
- 19 Chamæleon of Heraclea flourished in the time of Heraclides, and was the disciple of Aristotle or Theophrastus.
- 20 Praxagoras medicuſ taught Herophiluſ.
- 21 Demetriuſ Phalereuſ the diſciple of Theophrastuſ firſt appeared in public affairs in B. C. 325, governed Athens B. C. 317—307, retired to Egypt after the death of Caſſander B. C. 296, and died there in the beginning of the reign of Philadelphuſ. He might be from 62 to 67 years of age at the death of his patron Ptolemy Soter in 283.
- 22 Hecataëuſ of Abdera, a diſciple of Pyrrho, flouriſhed in the time of Alexander's ſucceſſorſ.
- 23 Menæchmuſ of Sicyon. In the time of the *διάδοχοι*.
- 24 Euhemeruſ of Meſſenia, the friend of Caſſander. His narratives are rejected as fabulous by Eratoſtheneſ and Plutarch.

- 25 Megasthenes, the companion of Seleucus Nicator, was sent by Seleucus to the Indian king Sandrocottus. He seems to have seen more of India than the companions of Alexander. Arrian followed him with satisfaction in Indian affairs, but Strabo doubted his veracity in some particulars.
- 26 Daimachus. Ambassador to India in the reign of Seleucus.
- 27 Patrocles commanded the fleets of Seleucus Nicator and of his son Antiochus.
- 28 Herophilus medicus lived in the time of Diodorus Cronus, and was contemporary with Erasistratus, and the disciple of Praxagoras of Cos.
- 29 Idomeneus of Lampsacus, B. C. 277. He flourished about B. C. 310—270.
- 30 Erasistratus medicus. B. C. 258. The grandson of Aristotle.
- 31 Antagoras of Rhodes. B. C. 269. Lived in the court of Antigonus Gonatas, who began to reign in Macedonia in B. C. 277.
- 32 Philinus of Cos, a physician, the disciple of Herophilus.
- 33 Bacchius medicus. Contemporary with Philinus.
- 34 Lycus of Rhegium a historian, contemporary with Demetrius Phalereus.
- 35 Rhinthon of Tarentum, a dramatic poet, flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Soter.
- 36 Nossis of Locri in Italy, the daughter of Theophilis, flourished at least not earlier than Rhinthon, whom she mentions.
- 37 Anyte of Tegea mentions the irruption of the Gauls into Asia in 278. And yet her statue was made by Euthycrates and Cephisodotus, who are referred by Pliny to Ol. 120 B. C. 300. Anyte therefore flourished about B. C. 300—270.
- 38 Myro or Mæro of Byzantium was the mother of Homerus the tragic poet, who flourished in Ol. 124. Myro therefore may be placed in the reign of Ptolemy Soter.
- 39 Simmias of Rhodes preceded Philiscus, and therefore flourished before the *Pleias*.
- 40 Teles was a little later than Stilpo.
- 41 Callias of Syracuse, the historian of Agathocles, flourished in his time. He appears to have published his history

before Timæus; although, as he described the death of Agathocles, he was still employed upon his work after B. C. 289.

42 Timotheus of Athens, one of the Eumolpidæ, was consulted by Ptolemy Soter.

43 Timæus. B.C. 264. Son of Andromachus of Tauromenium, by whom Timoleon was received in 344. Timæus survived B. C. 264, and lived 50 years in exile; but as the time of his death is unknown, and as we are not informed at what period of the reign of Agathocles he was banished, the dates of his birth and his exile cannot be determined.

The history of Timæus ended at B. C. 265. The last 5 books contained the history of Agathocles, in which he was far from impartial. His general history consisted of at least 38 books including these last 5, which treated of Agathocles. He described the Italian wars of Pyrrhus in a separate work.

44 Zenodotus of Ephesus. B. C. 271. Flourished in the time of the second Ptolemy. Another Zenodotus was the disciple of Crates, who was called of Mallus, from the place of his birth, and the Alexandrian from the place of his residence. When Zenodotus simply is named, we may understand the Ephesian.

Demetrius, a disciple of Zenodotus, may be placed at B. C. 230—210. Suidas also mentions the successive grammarians Agathocles the follower of Zenodotus, Hellanicus of Agathocles, and Ptolemy of Hellanicus and Aristarchus. Agathocles may be placed at B. C. 230, Hellanicus at B. C. 200, and Ptolemy at 170.

45 Aristarchus of Samos B. C. 280. Contemporary with Cleanthes.

46 Timon. B. C. 279. Of Phlius. Heard Stilpo at Megara and Pyrrho in Elis. Settled finally at Athens, where he dwelt till his death. He visited however Thebes for a short time, and was known to king Antigonus and to Ptolemy Philadelphus.

47 Dionysius Metathemenus. B. C. 263. He lived to his 81st year.

48 Duris of Samos. B. C. 280. Dionysius of Halicarnassus accounted him negligent in his style.



- 49 Lynceus of Samos the brother of Duris. B. C. 280.
- 50 Aratus of Soli. B. C. 272. He resided at the court of Antigonus Gonatas, and was contemporary with Antagoras of Rhodes and with Alexander Ætolus.
- 51 Sotades of Maronea. B. C. 280. Composed his Sotadean metres in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by whom he was imprisoned.
- 52 Asclepiades of Samos, a poet, preceded Theocritus, who was his disciple.
- 53 Theocritus. B. C. 272.
- 54 Homerus. B. C. 278, a tragic poet, one of the *Pleias*.
- 55 Sositheus. B. C. 278. A tragic poet, numbered by some among the *Pleias*.
- 56 Lycophron of Chalcis. B. C. 269. 259. One of the *Pleias*.
- 57 Leonidas of Tarentum. Probably flourished in the reign of Pyrrhus.
- 58 Alexander of Pleuron in Ætolia. B. C. 272. 269. Reckoned by some critics one of the *Pleias*.
- 59 Æantides B. C. 259. One of the tragic *Pleias*.
- 60 Sosiphanes B. C. 278. Also numbered by some among the poets of the *Pleias*.
- 61 Philiscus of Corcyra B. C. 278. One of the *Pleias*.
- 62 Dionysides of Mallus. One of the *Pleias*.  
All authorities agree in *Homerus*, *Philiscus*, *Lycophron*; three testimonies add the names of *Alexander Ætolus*, *Sositheus* and *Dionysides*. The seventh name was either *Æantides* or *Sosiphanes*.
- 63 Berosus. B. C. 279.
- 64 Metrodorus the Epicurean. B. C. 277.
- 65 Colotes. B. C. 277. Also a disciple of Epicurus.
- 66 Hermachus. B. C. 270. The successor of Epicurus.
- 67 Menippus of Gadara the cynic preceded Hermippus, who lived before B. C. 200.
- 68 Meleager of Gadara, the cynic, was contemporary with Menippus.
- 69 Panthœdes taught Lyco.
- 70 Lysimachus the disciple of Theodorus or of Theophrastus. B. C. 241.
- 71 Lyco the peripatetic succeeded Strato. B. C. 270. 226.
- 72 Manetho. B. C. 278.

- 73 Ctesibius flourished between Demosthenes and Hermippus.  
74 Cleanthes. B. C. 263. He heard Zeno and taught Chrysippus.  
75 Lysanias of Cyrene. B. C. 275. The master of Eratosthenes.  
76 Callimachus B. C. 256.  
77 Heraclitus of Halicarnassus. B. C. 249.  
78 Philostephanus of Cyrene. B. C. 249.  
79 Timosthenes of Rhodes, the pilot of Ptolemy Philadelphus. B. C. 262.  
80 Sosibius of Laconia. B. C. 251.  
81 Ister the disciple of Callimachus. B. C. 236.  
82 Hieronymus of Rhodes. B. C. 250.  
83 Neanthes of Cyzicus. B. C. 241.  
84 Nymphis of Heraclea. B. C. 247. 240.  
85 Philo of Heraclea. Contemporary with Nymphis.  
86 Apollonius son of Sotades. B. C. 280.  
87 Lacydes the successor of Arcesilaus. B. C. 241. 215. That Arcesilaus left nothing in writing is confirmed by Sextus Empiricus.  
88 Euphorion of Chalcis. B. C. 274. 241. 221.  
89 Aratus of Sicyon. Born B. C. 271. See 251. delivers Sicyon B. C. 251. prætor the second time at the liberation of Corinth B. C. 243. is present at the battle of Sellasia B. C. 222. is defeated at Caphyæ B. C. 220. His death B. C. 213. His history terminated at B. C. 220. Plutarch mentions his style as defective.  
90 Chrysippus the Stoic. B. C. 207. Born B. C. 280, died in 207.  
91 Persæus of Citium the disciple of Zeno. B. C. 272. 269. 260. 243.  
92 Rhianus of Bene, a poet and grammarian. B. C. 222.  
93 Antigonus of Carystus. B. C. 225.  
94 Archimedes. B. C. 221. 212.  
95 Archimelus of Athens. B. C. 221. a poet, contemporary with Archimedes.  
96 Eratosthenes of Cyrene. B. C. 275. 223. 214. 194.  
97 Apollophanes, a disciple of Aristo Chius.  
98 Apollonius of Rhodes. B. C. 194. Satirised by Callimachus in the *Ibis*.

- 99 Aristonymus the librarian of Alexandria. B. C. 183. A different person from Aristonymus the comic poet.
- 100 Charon or Chares. The companion or disciple of Apollonius of Rhodes.
- 101 Hermippus of Smyrna. B. C. 203.
- 102 Euphantus of Olynthus. B. C. 246. 229.
- 103 Phylarchus the historian. B. C. 219.
- 104 Philinus of Agrigentum. The historian of the first Punic war. Polybius accuses him of being too favourable to the Carthaginians.
- 105 Aristo of Ceos, the successor of Lyco. B. C. 226.
- 106 Hegesianax of Alexandria flourished in the reign of Antiochus the Great. His poems are quoted by Plutarch.
- 107 Dionysius Iambus, was the instructor of the grammarian Aristophanes, which will place him in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes.
- 108 Macho the comic poet, author of the *Chricæ*. B. C. 230. 200.
- 109 Apollodorus of Carystus, the comic poet. B. C. 230. 200. A distinct person from Apollodorus of Gela, who flourished a century before him.
- 110 Evander the successor of Lacydes. B. C. 215.
- 111 Samius the poet. B. C. 218. 197.
- 112 Mnesiptolemus. B. C. 217.
- 113 Epinicus, a comic poet, contemporary with Mnesiptolemus. B. C. 217.
- 114 Zeno of Tarsus, the successor of Chrysippus, B. C. 207.
- 115 Alcæus of Messenia, a poet. B. C. 197.
- 116 Aristophanes of Byzantium, the grammarian. B. C. 200.
- 117 Ptolemæus of Megalopolis. B. C. 195.
- 118 Asclepiades of Myrlea. B. C. 196. There were two grammarians of the name, both of Myrlea. The former was the disciple of Apollonius, mentioned at B. C. 196; the other flourished a century later, wrote after Dionysius Thrax, and taught at Rome in the time of Pompey.
- 119 Polemo periegeta. B. C. 199. Whether of Samos, or Sicyon, or Athens, is doubtful.
- 120 Adæus, a writer upon statuary and painting, against whom Polemo wrote.
- 121 Seleucus son of Mnesiptolemus. B. C. 217.



- 122 Menodotus of Perinthus } historians. B. C. 201.  
123 Sosilus of Lacedæmon }
- 124 Silenus. B. C. 201. Wrote in Greek the history of the second Punic war.
- 125 Zeno of Rhodes, the historian. B. C. 198.
- 126 Antisthenes of Rhodes, also a historian. B. C. 198.
- 127 Polybius, at the funeral of Philopœmen B. C. 182. appointed ambassador to Egypt B. C. 181. commands the Achæan cavalry in B. C. 169. is among the Achæan exiles in 167. returns to Greece in 151. is present at the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146. Polybius was under 30 in B. C. 181, and lived to the age of 82 years. Wherefore his birth could not be earlier than B. C. 210, and his death could not be later than 129. Beginning of his history B. C. 220. His 53 years terminate in B. C. 168, his history ends in B. C. 146.
- 128 Sotion of Alexandria. B. C. 205.
- 129 Hegesinus successor of Evander. B. C. 215. His predecessor began to teach in B. C. 215. his successor Carneades was 58 years old in B. C. 155. Hegesinus may be placed about the middle of that period, at 185.
- 130 Satyrus, author of the Lives of the Philosophers. B. C. 160.
- 131 Demetrius of Scepsis. B. C. 190. He flourished after Neanthes of Cyzicus, who was in advanced age in 241, and before Apollodorus of Athens, who wrote in 145.
- 132 Antipater of Sidon. B. C. 127. Descended from a wealthy family at Sidon. He was known to Q. Catulus, who was in early youth in B. C. 127, and a candidate for the consulship in the years 107 and 106. Antipater mentions a son of Ptolemy who died while a boy, a son of Ptolemy Philometor, whose death might have happened within B. C. 164—146, during the sole reign of Philometor; a period consistent with the times of Antipater and Catulus.
- 133 Critolaus the peripatetic. B. C. 226. 155.
- 134 Carneades the academic. B. C. 215. His birth is recorded at B. C. 213, his embassy to Rome at 155, and his death at 129.
- 135 Diogenes of Babylon the Stoic. B. C. 155.

- 136 Nicander of Colophon. B. C. 182. 138.
- 137 Crates of Mallus the grammarian. B. C. 159.
- 138 Aristarchus the grammarian. B. C. 158. 156.
- 139 Callistratus the disciple of Aristophanes. B. C. 154.
- 140 Moschus of Syracuse, a grammarian, contemporary with Aristarchus. B. C. 154.
- 141 Jason of Cyrene wrote after B. C. 162. The five books of his history were abridged by the author of the second book of Maccabees.
- 142 Aristodemus of Elis, the disciple of Aristarchus.
- 143 Heraclides Lembus. B. C. 205. 160. 148.
- 144 Antipater of Tarsus the Stoic. B. C. 145.
- 145 Hipparchus of Nicæa in Bithynia the astronomer. His observations are recorded at B. C. 161. 147—128. 127. See F H. III p. 532 = 551.
- 146 Panætius of Rhodes, the Stoic. B. C. 143.
- 147 Mnaseas of Patræ, the disciple of Aristarchus. Mnaseas flourished before Lysimachus, who wrote *περὶ νόστων*, by whom he is mentioned.
- 148 Ammonius the successor of Aristarchus the grammarian. B. C. 156.
- 149 Menecrates of Nysa, the disciple of Aristarchus.
- 150 Diodorus the Peripatetic. B. C. 111.
- 151 Clitomachus of Carthage, the successor of Carneades. B. C. 146. 129. 111.
- 152 Apollodorus of Athens. B. C. 144. 128.
- 153 Ctesibius Mechanicus flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon.
- 154 Apollodorus *κηποτύραννος* the Epicurean. B. C. 79.
- 155 Charmadas the Academic. B. C. 111. 70.
- 156 Herodicus a disciple of Crates the grammarian.
- 157 Tauriscus, also a disciple of Crates.
- 158 Agatharchides. B. C. 113. Probably tutor to Ptolemy Soter II the eldest son of Physcon.
- 159 Phædrus the Epicurean. B. C. 79. He died in Ol. 177.
- 160 Zeno the Epicurean. B. C. 79.
- 161 Metrodorus of Scepsis. B. C. 91. 70. If Demetrius of Scepsis was born about B. C. 205, and Metrodorus about B. C. 145, (who was nearly of the same age as Crassus, whose birth is fixed to B. C. 140,) there was

an interval of about 60 years between them. Metrodorus at the age of 18 or 20 might be patronised by Demetrius, who consequently lived to near 80 at the least.

- 162 Diotimus the Stoic was contemporary with Zeno the Epicurean.
- 163 Appellicon of Teos. B. C. 84. The friend of the tyrant Aristion.
- 164 Artemidorus of Ephesus the geographer flourished B. C. 103.
- 165 Hero of Alexandria, the disciple of Ctesibius. If Ctesibius flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, his disciple Hero may be placed with Artemidorus in the reign of the 8th Ptolemy.
- 166 Philo the Academic, the successor of Clitomachus. B. C. 92. 88.
- 167 Dionysius Thrax. B. C. 107.
- 168 Alexander Polyhistor. B. C. 83.
- 169 Apollonius of Tyre. A little before the time of Strabo.
- 170 Posidonius of Rhodes, the Stoic. B. C. 143. 86. 78. 62. 60. 51. He flourished between B. C. 100 and B. C. 51, and was succeeded by his grandson Jason.
- 171 Hecato of Rhodes. The disciple of Panætius.
- 172 Athenodorus the elder of Tarsus. An old man in B. C. 64.
- 173 Meleager. B. C. 95. The collector of the Anthologia. Lived after the death of Antipater Sidonius.
- 174 Apollonius ὄφης medicus. After Bacchius and before Dioscorides Phacas.
- 175 Archias the poet. B. C. 102. 86. 61.
- 176 Aselepiades medicus of Cius or Prusias in Bithynia. Contemporary with Antiochus the Academic philosopher; the friend of Crassus the orator who died in B. C. 91; was settled at Rome in the time of Mithridates.
- 177 Antiochus the Academic. B. C. 87. 79.
- 178 Scymnus of Chios. B. C. 90. Dedicated to Nicomedes III king of Bithynia.
- 179 Geminus flourished in N. E. 672 B. C. 77. He quotes Hipparchus, who continued his observations down to B. C. 127; Crates the grammarian, who flourished in



159, and Polybius, who was still living in 129. He reckons Cleanthes, who began to teach in 263, among the ancients. Geminus also abridged a work of Posidonius.

180 Hermagoras. B. C. 62. As he began to teach before Molo, he had probably taught rhetoric full 30 years before his conference with Pompey.

181 Athenæus. B. C. 62.

182 Apollonius *μαλακός*. B. C. 88.

183 Apollonius Molo. B. C. 88. 78.

184 Ænesidemus, of the sceptical school of philosophy, was contemporary with Antiochus the Academic and with Tubero to whom he dedicated. The *acme* of Ænesidemus may be placed at B. C. 80—50.

185 Dionysius of Magnesia. B. C. 78.

186 Menippus of Caria. B. C. 78.

187 Æschylus of Caria. B. C. 78.

188 Xenophanes of Adramyttium. B. C. 78.

189 Æschines of Miletus. Contemporary with Cicero.

190 Theophanes of Lesbos. B. C. 49. Adopted Cornelius Balbus of Gades.

191 Demetrius of Magnesia. B. C. 55. 49.

192 Tyrannio of Amisus the grammarian. B. C. 71. Brought to Rome by Lucullus. Heard by Strabo. Tyrannio is named by Cicero in B. C. 59, who employed him in 56 in arranging his library and instructing his nephew Quintus. Mentioned again by Cicero in B. C. 54 and 46.

193 Demetrius of Erythræ, the rival of Tyrannio. B. C. 71.

194 Asclepiades of Myrlea the younger. See N° 118.

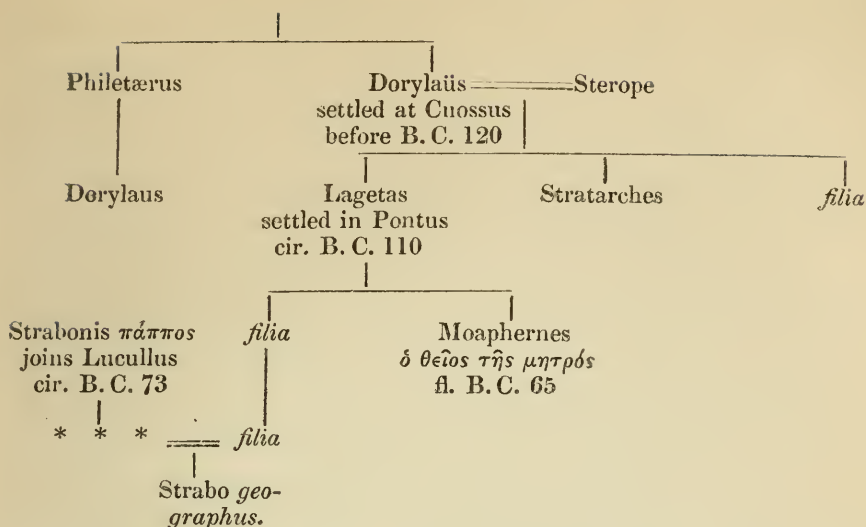
195 Castor the chronographer. B. C. 61. 56. Castor is quoted by Apollodorus of Athens. But Castor brought down his chronography to B. C. 56, Apollodorus had already written a book before 138. If we suppose that Apollodorus survived the reign of Attalus II, to whom he dedicated, full 50 years, and that Castor composed his *χρονικὰ ἀγνοήματα* 50 years before his own death in B. C. 45, Apollodorus in that case would have lived to B. C. 88, and the work of Castor which he quotes would be published in 95, seven years before the death of Apollodorus. We may imagine Apollodorus to have

- lived 80 years, B. C. 168—88, and Castor 80, B. C. 125—45. Castor would thus be 37 at the death of Apollodorus.
- 196 Antipater of Tyre. B. C. 44. As he was lately dead in that year, we may place his *acme* about 30 years before, at the year 74 or 75.
- 197 Andronicus of Rhodes, the peripatetic. He obtained from Tyrannio copies of the works of Aristotle. Andronicus was the eleventh from Aristotle, and the master of Boethus. Tyrannio came to Rome in 71, Boethus was contemporary with Strabo. Andronicus, who came between them, may be placed at the year 58.
- 198 Jason. B. C. 51. The grandson and successor of Posidonius.
- 199 Zeuxis medicus lived in the time of Strabo.
- 200 Alexander Philalethes medicus also lived in the time of Strabo. He was the preceptor of Aristoxenus.
- 201 Moschion medicus, the disciple of Aesclepiades.
- 202 Themison medicus, the successor of Aesclepiades.
- 203 Aristocles the peripatetic wrote soon after Ænesidemus, whom he quotes.
- 204 Sosigenes. B. C. 45. Assisted Cæsar in reforming the calendar.
- 205 Cratippus the peripatetic. B. C. 44.
- 206 Boethus of Sidon. The disciple of Andronicus Rhodius and the contemporary of Strabo.
- 207 Diodorus Siculus. B. C. 60. 59. 43.
- 208 Apollodorus of Pergamus, a teacher of rhetoric. B. C. 63. 44. 30.
- 209 Athenodorus of Tarsus. B. C. 30. The preceptor of Augustus.
- 210 Aristodemus of Nysa. The preceptor of Strabo.
- 211 Timagenes the sophist. B. C. 55. Brought to Rome by Gabinius.
- 212 Dioscorides Phacas medicus. Contemporary with Cleopatra.
- 213 Hybreas of Mylasa. B. C. 40. 31. A teacher of rhetoric.
- 214 Nicetes. B. C. 31. Contemporary with Hybreas.
- 215 Pylades Cilix pantomimus. B. C. 22.
- 216 Anaxilaus of Larissa. B. C. 28. A Pythagorean.

- 217 Nestor of Tarsus. B. C. 23. The preceptor of Marcellus.
- 218 Parthenius. B. C. 63.
- 219 Tyrannio the younger. B. C. 31. The disciple of the elder Tyrannio.
- 220 Conon. B. C. 36. He dedicated his work to Archelaus king of Cappadocia, who began to reign in B. C. 36.
- 221 Heraclides Erythræus medicus. Lived in the time of Strabo.
- 222 Apollonius *μῆς* medicus. Contemporary with Heraclides Erythræus.
- 223 Athenæus the peripatetic philosopher. B. C. 22.
- 224 Asinius Pollio of Tralles. Taught at Rome in the time of Pompey, and succeeded to the school of the sophist Timagenes.
- 225 Tryphon of Alexandria the grammarian. He flourished in the time of Augustus, and before him, and still wrote in the time of Didymus.
- 226 Demetrius Ixion of Adramyttium, a grammarian, flourished in the reign of Augustus. Dwelt at Pergamus.
- 227 Timagenes the historian. B. C. 27. It seems probable that the sophist Timagenes, who taught and flourished about the year B. C. 54, was a distinct person from the historian, and somewhat preceded him in time.
- 228 Nicolaus of Damascus. B. C. 64. 53. 36. 16. 4. Was 60 years of age in B. C. 4.
- 229 Aristocles of Rhodes the grammarian. Preceded Didymus, but reached the time of Strabo.
- 230 Didymus. B. C. 46. The preceptor of Apion. Heraclides the disciple of Didymus taught at Rome in the reigns of Claudius and Nero. See Fast. Rom. Vol. I A. D. 55 p. 37.
- 231 Juba king of Mauretania. B. C. 46 B. C. 1.
- 232 Dionysius of Halicarnassus. B. C. 265. 29. 7. Employed 22 years in collecting his materials and in preparing his history, and completed it in B. C. 7. He survived his history some few years; for he lived to compose an epitome in 5 books of his own work. He had been dead some years before A. D. 18.
- 233 Theodorus of Gadara. B. C. 31. 6.



- 234 Dionysius Atticus of Pergamus, the disciple of Apollodorus Pergamenus. B. C. 63.
- 235 Cæcilius. B. C. 29. The friend of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
- 236 Hermagoras the disciple of Theodorus. B. C. 6.
- 237 Aristoxenus medicus, the disciple of Alexander Philalethes (N<sup>o</sup> 200).
- 238 Demosthenes medicus, also the disciple of Alexander Philalethes.
- 239 Dionysius periegeta. B. C. 1. A different person from Dionysius the author of the extant poem.
- 240 Sextus the Pythagorean philosopher. A. D. 1. Quoted by the name of Sextius by Seneca and Plutarch.
- 241 Philistion. A. D. 7. The mimographer.
- 242 Aristonicus the grammarian lived in the time of Strabo. His father Ptolemy was also a grammarian. Aristonicus might flourish at B. C. 40 and Ptolemy at B. C. 70.
- 243 Strabo. B. C. 71. 58. 24. A. D. 14. Strabo gives memorials of his family which contribute to fix his time. His maternal ancestor Dorylaus was a general in the service of Mithridates Euergetes, and in the reign of that king, who died B. C. 120, settled at Cnossus in Crete, where he had two sons and a daughter. Strataches, one of the sons, was in his extreme old age seen by Strabo. Meanwhile Philetærus the brother of Dorylaus was the favourite companion of Mithridates Eupator, and, when this king arrived at manhood, he invited Lagetas the kinsman of his favourite to settle in Pontus. Lagetas obeyed the call, and in Pontus had a daughter who was the mother of the mother of Strabo. The notices supplied by Strabo himself will give the following genealogy.



We cannot well suppose that Strabo saw Stratarches more than 75 or 80 years after the father Dorylaüs settled in Crete. This would give B. C. 45 or 50 for the period at which he saw Stratarches ἐσχατόγηρων. The birth therefore of Strabo cannot be fixed below B. C. 54, and was probably a few years earlier. If we place it in B. C. 60, that date would fix his birth 50 years after his great-grandfather Lagetas had settled in Pontus, and 13 after his grandfather joined Lucullus, and four or five after his great-uncle Moaphernes recovered the favour of Mithridates. All these dates are consistent; and all the allusions which Strabo makes to contemporary facts or persons fall below B. C. 60.

He mentions as living in his days Posidonius, who was still living in 51 and was contemporary and perhaps of the same age with Servilius Isauricus, whom Strabo had seen; C. Antonius, who was banished in B. C. 59; Amyntas a chieftain in Isauria, who was slain in B. C. 25; the kings of Cappadocia Ariobarzanes, who reigned till B. C. 42, and Ariarathes, who reigned till 36. He mentions also as in his time Cleon a leader of banditti at the period of the Actian war in B. C. 31; and among the literary men of his time Mithridates, who survived Pharnaces B. C. 47; Apollodorus of Pergamus, who taught Octavius in B. C. 44, Æschines the contemporary of Cicero, Theophanes, who flourished in B. C. 49, Lesbocles Crinagoras and Po-

tamo. Lesbocles was contemporary with Potamo, and Potamo with Theodorus of Gadara, who lived in B. C. 6; Crinagoras celebrated Marcellus the son of Octavia. Strabo records as in his own time Hybreas, who flourished in B. C. 40. Strabo at Nysa in early youth heard Aristodemus then in extreme old age. But Aristodemus, whose preceptor Menecrates had been the disciple of Aristarchus, taught at Rome about the years B. C. 60—50 and was the tutor of Pompey's children. But if Strabo heard Aristodemus, who was the third from Aristarchus and also the tutor of Pompey's children, he could not have heard him much later than B. C. 50, which would be 106 years after the *acme* of Aristarchus; a confirmation of the date which we have assigned for Strabo's birth. He mentions as in his days also Theopompus the friend of Cæsar, who lived in B. C. 45; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was at Rome in B. C. 7; Athenæus, who lived in the year 22; Cleopatra the Egyptian queen, who died in B. C. 30; king Juba, of Mauretania, who was defeated in B. C. 46; Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year 51.

244 Thrasyllus mathematicus. A. D. 2. 14.

245 Sotio. A. D. 13. The preceptor of Seneca.

246 Apion a native of an Oasis of Egypt, surnamed Mochthus, a disciple of the celebrated Didymus, taught at Rome in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius. Contemporary with Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Apion was seen by Pliny in his youth, and therefore might still be living about A. D. 43. He was an ambassador to Rome at the same time with Philo.

247 Apollonides of Nicæa. Flourished in the time of Tiberius.

248 Pamphilus of Alexandria, a grammarian of the school of Aristarchus, flourished between the times of Apion and Athenæus.

To these may be added some writers of uncertain age, who flourished before the death of Augustus, and who therefore belong to the periods described in this volume.

249 Agathocles. After B. C. 309 and before Cicero.



- 250 Agathyllus an Arcadian poet, before the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
- 251 Amometus. Before Callimachus (N° 76).
- 252 Anaxilaus. Before Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
- 253 Andriscus. Before Parthenius (N° 218). Wrote upon Naxos.
- 254 Andron. Before Strabo.
- 255 Anticlides. After Alexander the Great and before Didymus and Strabo.
- 256 Apollodorus of Artemita. Flourished after Eucratidas I, the sixth king of Bactriana, and before Strabo.
- 257 Archemachus of Eubœa. Before Strabo.
- 258 Ariæthus of Tegea. Before Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
- 259 Aristocritus. Before Parthenius.
- 260 Bato of Sinope. After B.C. 216, when Hieronymus reigned at Syracuse, and before Strabo.
- 261 Callippus of Corinth had read the work of Hegesinus, an early poet, whose poem had perished before Pausanias was born; whence it may reasonably be supposed that Callippus himself flourished before the Christian era.
- 262 Callistratus. Before Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
- 263 Cephalon Gergithius. An early historian, mentioned by Dionysius and Strabo.
- 264 Cleon of Sicily. Before Scymnus of Chios (N° 178).
- 265 Clinias. Before Agatharchides (N° 158).
- 266 Demagoras. Before Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
- 267 Demetrius Calatianus. After the death of Hiero B. C. 216, and before Scymnus.
- 268 Demetrius Laco. Mentioned by Strabo, and probably contemporary with Zeno the Epicurean (N° 160), who flourished in B. C. 79.
- 269 Diocles of Peparethus. Before Fabius Pictor B. C. 223.
- 270 Dio Stoicus. After Theophrastus and before Panætius (N°. 146).
- 271 Diodorus of Elæa. Before Parthenius (N° 218)
- 272 Dionysius of Chalcis. Before Scymnus.
- 273 Dionysius of Mytilene. Flourished not long before Antonius Gniphos, who is described in the Tables at B. C. 66.

- 274 Dosiadas. A writer of Cretan history, before Diodorus Siculus.
- 275 (Hegesinus, an early poet mentioned by Pausanias. See N° 260. Described already at p. 147 N° 14.)
- 276 Hegesippus. Quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Parthenius.
- 277 Herodorus of Heraclea. Before Aristotle.
- 278 Leandrius. Before Callimachus.
- 279 Licymnius of Chios, a lyric poet quoted by Parthenius, and by Athenæus.
- 280 Matris the hymnographer. Quoted by Diodorus Siculus.
- 281 Menecrates of Elæa. Quoted by Strabo. The disciple of Xenocrates, which determines his time to about the year 315.
- 282 Menecrates of Xanthus. Quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
- 283 Metrodorus of Chios. The master of Anaxarchus, who flourished B. C. 339.
- 284 Myrsilus of Lesbos. Quoted by Antigonus of Carystus (N° 93), by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and by Strabo.
- 285 Nicænetus. Before Phylarchus (N° 103). Quoted by Parthenius.
- 286 Phanodemus. Before Didymus and Dionysius.
- 287 Phileas. Before Dicæarchus (N° 6).
- 288 Philocrates. Before Apollodorus of Athens (N° 152).
- 289 Polycleitus of Larissa. Before Strabo.
- 290 Polycrates. Before Didymus (N° 230).
- 291 Protarchus the Epicurean. Mentioned by Strabo. Probably contemporary with Apollodorus *κηποτύραννος* (N° 154).
- 292 Proxenus. Between the times of Pyrrhus B. C. 275 and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
- 293 Pyrrhus, a lyric poet of Erythræ or of Lesbos; mentioned by Theocritus and by Lynceus of Samos (N° 49).
- 294 Pytheas, a geographer, who preceded Dicæarchus.
- 95 Scylax. Klausen the editor of Scylax concludes that the extant periplus is not a compendium of the work of the elder Scylax, but the separate production of a later author of the name. We may assent to the opinion of Niebuhr, and, as it seems, of Klausen himself, that

Scylax wrote in the reign of Philip son of Amyntas. The periplus was probably composed within B. C. 350—345.

296 Sosicrates. Flourished between Hermippus and Apollodorus of Athens; which will place him between B. C. 200 and 128.

297 Suidas. Before Strabo.

298 Xenagoras. Quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

299 Zenodotus of Troezen. Quoted by Dionysius on the Sabines, and by Plutarch.

### § 13 EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

It is here proposed to take a brief survey of the provinces of the Roman Empire, including Britain, which was the only permanent addition to the Empire made after the reign of Augustus.

In EUROPE the area of Italy Spain and Gaul shall be first considered.

The area of Italy may be thus given. Central and Southern Italy, lat.  $44^{\circ}$  being assumed as the northern limit, 50,230 square English miles. Italy to the north of lat.  $44^{\circ}$  exclusive of Savoy 38,263 square English miles. Total 88,493. The population at 20,400,000 will give  $230\frac{1}{2}$  persons to each square mile. Savoy on the confines of France and Italy has an area of 4454 square English miles, and in 1839 contained 564,137 inhabitants. In the Roman times Savoy was included in Gaul. It is now added to Italy, and the total extent and population of the Italian States exclusive of the islands are as follows :

	Sq. E. m.	Inhabitants
Italy .....	88,493 .....	20,399,403
Savoy .....	4,454 .....	564,137
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	92,947	20,963,540

The area of Spain and Portugal collectively exceeds the area of France; but France contains more than twice the number of inhabitants. This great disproportion is chiefly to be ascribed to the moral and political disadvantages of Spain and Portugal. In the following table the population is given of Spain exclusive of the islands as it stood in 1833, and of Portugal as it stood in 1844.



	Inhabitants	Sq. E. miles	to each sq. m.
Spain .....	11,959,694 .....	180,293 .....	$66\frac{1}{8}$
Portugal...	3,412,041 .....	36,428 .....	$93\frac{1}{8}$
	<hr/> 15,371,735	<hr/> 216,721	<hr/> $70\frac{1}{4}$

France contains by Necker's estimate 205,817 square English miles; by another calculation 206,884; mean area 206,350. The population in 1846 was 35,400,486, or something more than  $171\frac{1}{2}$  to each square mile. For  $206,350 \times 171\frac{1}{2} = 35,389,025$ . But ancient Gaul was more extensive. It reached on the north to the Rhine, and included the provinces which lie between the northern frontier of France and the Rhine. These provinces contain 23,651 square English miles. To these is to be added Savoy, which contains 4454 square miles, and which under the Romans was also included in Gaul. Gaul Spain and Italy therefore under the Roman Empire may be computed thus:

	Sq. E. m.	Sq. E. m.
Gaul .....	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 206,350 \\ 23,651 \\ 4,454 \end{array} \right.$ <hr/>	234,455
Italy .....		88,493
Spain and Portugal ...		216,721
		<hr/> 539,669

The countries of Europe south of the Danube from Switzerland to the Euxine, extending southwards to the Adriatic the Ionian and Ægæan seas, and comprehending on the north-west Rætia Noricum Pannonia Illyricum Dalmatia, on the east and south Mœsia Thrace Macedonia Epirus and Greece, may be estimated to contain 279,162 square English miles. Of this space about 23,433 belonged to Macedonia, and 22,231<sup>a</sup> to Greece.

The Roman provinces in Britain as far as the wall of *Antoninus* included the whole of England and Wales, and nearly one fourth of Scotland, namely,

<sup>a</sup> That is, the adjacent islands being included, as explained in F. Hellen. Vol. 2 p. 385—473 and in p. 270 of the present volume.

	Square miles
South Britain .....	57,960
Of Scotland .....	6,780
	—————64,740

We must add the larger islands.

Crete .....	3376
Sicily .....	10,576
Sardinia.....	12,252
Corsica .....	3110
Majorca, Minorca, Ivica ...	3694
	—————33,008

In Europe then collectively

	Square English miles
Gaul Italy Spain .....	539,669
Pannonia &c. ....	279,162
Britain .....	64,740
Islands .....	33,008
	—————916,579

We omit Dacia as a temporary possession. But to these provinces may be added some districts to the north of the Danube and the Euxine. The northern shore of the Euxine, on the confines of Europe and Asia, extends for about 900 English miles from the *sacrum ostium* of the Danube in lat.  $45^{\circ}$  to the mouth of the Phasis in lat.  $42^{\circ} 10'$ , including the Tauric Chersonese which contains an area of 8420 square English miles. This entire line of coast, with the Tauric Chersonese itself, was either occupied by Roman garrisons or ruled by vassal kings, and may justly be regarded as a part of the Empire.

The Roman territories in ASIA were for the most part contained within the three first Regions of Western Asia which are described in another work. But from these we must deduct the following portions; the Caucasian countries between lat.  $44^{\circ}$ — $43^{\circ}$  containing 29,524 square miles; Armenia, by Rennell's estimate 97,000 square miles; the country to the east of the Tigris in latitudes  $37^{\circ}$ — $34^{\circ}$ ; the triangular space between lat.  $34^{\circ}$ — $31^{\circ}$  on the east of the Euphrates, forming the south-eastern angle of the Third Region. For in the higher countries the Tigris was the boundary between the two empires of Rome and Parthia; as in the description of

Petrus Patricius referring to A. D. 298<sup>b</sup>. And the Tigris had been the boundary before that period; for *Nisibis*, far to the east of the Euphrates, had belonged to the Romans from the time of Lucullus. In the lower countries, in lat. 34°—31°, the Euphrates was the limit, as Festus p. 411. 412 may be understood: *Hadrianus—inter Romanos ac Persas Euphratem medium esse voluit*.

The Three Regions then, as explained in Fast. Rom. Vol. 2 p. 259, were these:

	Square English miles
I Region .....	182,512
II Region .....	229,989
III Region .....	179,784
	<hr/> 592,285

Deduct

Within lat. 44°—43° ...	29,524
Armenia .....	97,000
lat. 37°—34° .....	33,127
lat. 34°—31° .....	33,844
	<hr/> 193,495

On the continent of Asia ..... 398,790

Add these islands belonging to Asia:

Cyprus .....	4873
Lesbos .....	566
Chios .....	267
Samos .....	194
Rhodus .....	368
	<hr/> 1395
	<hr/> 6268

Total, including the islands, 405,058 square English miles.

In EGYPT the direct distance from the Cataracts at lat. 24° to the most northern point of the Delta in lat. 31° 30' is 518 English miles. But the winding course of the Nile gives nearly 650; namely, from the Cataracts in lat. 24° to lat. 30°

<sup>b</sup> See Fast. Rom. Vol. 1 p. 340. The expressions of Ammianus there quoted, which caused much perplexity to Valesius, are rightly explained by Wagner to mean "beyond the Tigris with respect

to Persia." Those five provinces west of the Tigris, which were ceded by the Persians to Galerius in 298, were restored to them by Jovian in 363.



a little to the south of Cairo 528 miles, and from lat.  $30^{\circ}$  to Rosetta 121 miles = 649. *Thebes* in lat.  $25^{\circ} 44'$  by the course of the river is distant 145 English miles from the Cataracts and 504 from Rosetta

According to Strabo in the Upper Egypt the fertile valley through which the river flows was only called Egypt in the ancient times, and the valley he affirms was nowhere in the space from lat.  $24^{\circ}$  to lat.  $30^{\circ}$  more than 300 *stadia* in width. Thus limited, the area of Egypt from the Cataracts to Cairo and from Cairo to the sea, including the Delta, would be only equal to 32,984 square English miles. But Strabo adds that in his time nearly the whole space from the Nile eastwards to the Arabian Gulf was called Egypt. This being included will make the total area 85,380.

The Roman provinces in AFRICA from Cotes (now Cape Spartel), the extreme point on the west, to the altars of the Philæni were *Mauretania Tingitana*, *Mauretania Cæsariensis*, and *Africa*. The extent of this whole line of coast is computed by Polybius III. 39, 2 at more than 16,000 *stadia*. Strabo gives the following points of distance, beginning from Cotes on the west and proceeding eastwards. "From Cotes to Metagonium 5000 *stadia*; from Metagonium to Tretum 6000; from Tretum to Carthage 2500; from Carthage to the promontory Cephæ something more than 5000 *stadia*."

Pliny H. N. V. 1—4 describes these provinces from Cotes on the west to the promontory Borion on the east, a little beyond the altars of the Philæni. He thus gives in Roman miles their extent and position. "*Tingitana* is 170 miles in length. The length of both the *Mauretania*s is 839 miles, the breadth 467. *Numidia* begins at the river Ampsaga. *Zeugitana* or *Africa* proper begins at Tusca, and terminates at the Borion promontory. From Ampsaga to the Syrtis minor (which is 300 miles from Carthage) *Numidia* and *Africa* are 580 miles in length, 200 in breadth. *Africa* from the Ampsaga to Borion contains 26 nations."

Ptolemy Geogr. IV. 1—3 enumerates the points on the coast. "*Tingitana* is bounded on the west by the Ocean from Cotes as far as the greater Atlas southwards, on the north by the Mediterranean from Cotes to the river Malua, on the east by *Cæsariensis*.—*Mauretania Cæsariensis*, bounded on the west

by *Tingitana*, extends on the northern coast from the *Malua* to the *Ampsaga*. *Africa*, bounded on the west by *Casariensis*, stretches on the coast of the Mediterranean from the *Ampsaga* to the most southern point of the greater *Syrtis*, the altars of the *Philæni*; where the province of *Africa* is bounded by *Cyrenaica* on the east."

The actual length of the northern coast measured upon modern maps may be thus given. From the promontory Cotes (now Cape Spartel) on the west, in lat.  $35^{\circ} 50'$  west long.  $5^{\circ} 58'$ <sup>c</sup> to the promontory Hermæum east of Carthage (now Cape Bon) in lat.  $37^{\circ} 1'$  east long.  $11^{\circ} 10'$ <sup>d</sup> the direct distance is 990 English miles, but the winding circuit of the coast is 1213. Carthage itself in lat.  $36^{\circ} 51'$  long. east  $10^{\circ} 17'$ <sup>e</sup> is distant by the coast line from Cotes the most western point 1144 English miles, and by the circuit of the bay 69 from the eastern promontory Hermæum.

At Hermæum or Cape Bon the coast suddenly turns to the southward, and, including the Lesser Syrtis, proceeds in that direction to Tripoli. This city, distant 546 English miles by the coast from Cape Bon, is placed in lat.  $32^{\circ} 53' 40''$  east long.  $13^{\circ} 10' 42''$ , far to the south, and a little to the east, of that promontory. From Tripoli the coast has been surveyed by Capt. Beechey, and the shore of the Greater Syrtis accurately laid down. We obtain from his survey the following positions. From Tripoli to Lebida, the ancient Leptis magna, in lat.  $32^{\circ} 39' 11''$  long.  $14^{\circ} 13' 20''$ , are  $58\frac{1}{2}$  geographical miles.

<sup>c</sup> I have only been able to consult for the position of Cape Spartel Wyld's Map of Africa, Faden's of Europe, Brookes's Gazetteer, Arrowsmith's Atlas, and D'Anville. Their accounts vary in this manner.

Latitude West longitude

$35^{\circ} 50'$  . . .  $5^{\circ} 58'$  Faden

$35^{\circ} 55'$  . . .  $5^{\circ} 57'$  Wyld

$35^{\circ} 50'$  . . .  $5^{\circ} 50'$  Arrowsmith

$35^{\circ} 50'$  . . .  $5^{\circ} 56'$  Brookes

$35^{\circ} 49'$  . . . — D'Anville.

<sup>d</sup> Position of Cape Bon in the preceding authorities.

Latitude East longitude

$37^{\circ} 1'$  . . .  $11^{\circ} 10'$  Faden and Wyld

$37^{\circ} 2'$  . . .  $11^{\circ} 3'$  Arrowsmith

$37^{\circ} 0'$  . . . — D'Anville.

<sup>e</sup> The longitude and latitude of Carthage is reported with some variations.

Latitude East longitude

$36^{\circ} 50'$  . . .  $10^{\circ} 10'$  Wyld

$36^{\circ} 50'$  . . .  $10^{\circ} 10'$  Brookes

$36^{\circ} 51'$  . . . — D'Anville

$36^{\circ} 51'$  . . .  $10^{\circ} 17'$  Arrowsmith

$36^{\circ} 51'$  . . .  $10^{\circ} 27'$  Faden.

The position of *Carthage*, which was placed upon a peninsula of 360 *stadia* in circuit, joined to the main land on the west by an isthmus 60 *stadia* in length and 25 in breadth, is described by Strabo XVII p. 832 and by Polybius I. 73, 4. Utica lay to the north 15 English miles, Tunetum to the south-west 10 miles, direct distance from Carthage. The city of Carthage itself was, according to Livy Ep. 51, in B. C. 147 23 Roman miles (more than 21 English) in circuit. Already in the time of Scylax the dominion of Carthage extended to the Straits.

From Leptis to Cape Mesurata, the western limit of the Greater Syrtis, 58 geographical miles. From Mesurata to the most southern point of the Syrtis, Suchreen, the site of the Philænian altars, 270<sup>f</sup>. These distances reduced to English miles are

	G. miles	English miles
From <i>Tripoli</i> to <i>Leptis</i> .....	58½ .....	67.3725
<i>Leptis</i> to <i>Mesurata</i> .....	58 .....	66.7967
<i>Mesurata</i> to <i>Suchreen</i> .....	270 .....	310.9500
	<hr/> 386½	<hr/> 445.1192

And the entire circuit of the coast from Cotes to the altars of the Philæni is accordingly this :

	English miles
From <i>Cotes</i> to the promontory <i>Hermæum</i> ...	1213
<i>Hermæum</i> to <i>Tripoli</i> .....	546
<i>Tripoli</i> to <i>Suchreen</i> .....	445
	<hr/> 991
	2204

The Cyrenaic territory has been described in a former part of this volume. The circuit of the coast was 606 geographical, or 698 English miles; the space from Parætonium to Alexandria was 198 English, making a total of 896 from the *aræ Philænorum* to Alexandria; and the whole line of coast from Cotes will be

	English miles
From <i>Cotes</i> to the <i>aræ</i> .....	2204
From the <i>aræ</i> to <i>Alexandria</i> .....	896
	<hr/> 3100

The breadth of these provinces is not in proportion to the length of coast. In Ptolemy Geogr. IV. 1 the most southern

<sup>f</sup> Captain Beechey p. 35 “Tripoly may be estimated at 67 miles from Lebida.” p. 257 “The distance between Leptis Magna and Mesurata, the western extremity of the gulf, may be reckoned at 58 geographic miles, equal to 73 Roman.” He describes p. 101 the position of the promontory Mesurata, which forms the western limit of the Syrtis.

The position of the *aræ Philænorum* has been given above from Capt. Beechey. He estimates p. 256 the circuit of the

Greater Syrtis from Mesurata on the west to Bengazi or Berenice, the eastern extremity (p. 257), at 422 geographical miles. Again p. 270 “The circumference of the Greater Syrtis is ascertained to be 422 G. miles.” But this was the road distance “deduced from the camel track” p. 256. For the coast line, being the interior circuit, measured on his map, gives only 405 geographical miles, namely from Mesurata to Suchreen 270, from Suchreen to Bengazi 135.



point of *Tingitana* on the shores of the Atlantic is *Sala*, distant 135 English miles from *Cotes*. Pliny H. N. V. 1 reckons 157 Roman miles from *Cotes* to *Sala*: *Cotes ultra columnas Herculis; nunc est Tingi.*—*ab eo 25 M. P. in ora Oceani colonia Augusti Julia Constantia.*—*et ab ea 32 M. P. colonia a Claudio Cæsare facta Lixos.*—*In ora a Lixos 50 M. P. amnis Subur præter Banasam coloniam defluens magnificus et navigabilis. Ab eo totidem M. P. oppidum Sala ejusdem nominis fluvio impositum, jam solitudinibus vicinum* g.

The present text of Pliny H. N. V. 2 gives to the Mauretania a depth from north to south of 467 Roman miles, but in some copies 377—*Latitudine CCCLXXVII M. P.* It appears that the numbers in Pliny are corrupt. Even the lesser number, equal to nearly 346 English miles, far exceeds the extent southwards of the modern Algeria<sup>h</sup>, which is said to have an average depth of 60 French leagues.

A line drawn from *Sala* in lat. 34° 10' long. west 6° 50' i to Cape Mesurata in lat. 32° 25' long, east 15° 10' 19'', the western point of the Greater *Syrtis*, is equal to 1265 English miles. From this line to the coast the mean depth of the Mauretania will be about 195 English miles. The depth of Africa proper from north to south in the meridian of Utica is ascertained by the known positions of Leptis magna and of Mesurata; and the direct distance from the sea in that meridian to the above-mentioned line will be 300 English miles. The whole area contained between this line and the sea, from *Sala* to Mesurata, is 145,095 square English miles, expressing

g The distances are

M. P.
25
32
50
50
—
157

Or 144 English miles for the road distance.

h The modern province occupies the place of the ancient *Cæsariensis*, but extends eastwards beyond the Ampsaga into the adjacent province and advances within 60 English miles (direct distance) of Carthage. Mr Borrer in his account of Algeria thus describes the extent and fertility of this province. "In France the population is about two to 3 hectares. But the superior fertility of

"Algeria might allow one to each hectare. It is computed to present a surface of about 16,000,000 hectares, there being about 2½ English acres to each hectare."

The numbers here given, namely, 16,000,000 × 2½, will produce 40,000,000 of acres, or about 62,500 square English miles.

i The position of *Sala*, or *Sallee*, is thus given in the authorities quoted in note c.

Latitude	West longitude
34° 10' . . .	6° 35' Wyld
34° 5' . . .	6° 54' Faden
34° 6' . . .	6° 40' Arrowsmith
34° 2' . . .	6° 26' Brookes
34° 1' . . .	— D'Anville.

the probable extent of the Roman provinces to the west of Mesurata.

To this we must add the strip of territory on the shores of the Greater Syrtis from Mesurata to Suchreen; a coast line, as already shewn, of 311 English miles. If we assume 20 miles as the average breadth of this tract of coast, we add  $311 \times 20 = 6220$  square miles, and the total area of the Roman territories in Africa west of the Philænian altars will be 151,315.

The area of the *Cyrenaic* district was 36,681 square English miles<sup>k</sup>. There remain the countries between *Catabathmus* and *Alexandria*. Thus described by Pliny H. N. V. 6 *Ea quæ sequitur regio Mareotis Libya appellatur, Ægypto contermina. Tenent Marmaridæ<sup>l</sup>, Adyrmachidæ, dein Mareotæ. Mensura a Catabathmo ad Parætonium 86 M. P. In eo tractu vicus Apis interest, nobilis religione Ægypto locus. Ab eo Parætonium 12 M. P. Inde Alexandriam 200 M. P. Latitudo 169 est.* The 169 Roman miles assigned by Pliny give a breadth of 155 English miles. The coast line from Catabathmus to Parætonium was 80 geographical miles<sup>m</sup> making 92 English. Therefore  $92 + 198 = 290$  English miles from Catabathmus to Alexandria. Assuming a point 23 miles to the west of Alexandria as the limit (to which point the area of Egypt has been carried), we obtain 267 English miles for the coast line; and  $267 \times 155 = 41,385$  square miles, for the surface of this tract of country. And the Roman possessions in Africa including Egypt are these:

	Square English miles
<i>Mauretania Tingitana</i> .....	} 151,315
——— <i>Cæsariensis</i> ...	
<i>Africa</i> .....	
<i>Cyrenaica</i> .....	36,681
<i>Marmarica</i> &c. ....	41,385
	————— 229,381
<i>Ægyptus</i> .....	85,380
	————— 314,761

<sup>k</sup> See above p. 375.

<sup>l</sup> *Marmarica* in Ptolemy begins from *Darnis*, and in the Itinerary of Antoninus p. 4, 5 extends from *Darnis* to *Catabathmus*, or rather to *Alexandria*. Diodorus III. 48 assigns to the *Mar-*

*maridæ* the country between Egypt and Cyrene: οἱ Μαρμαρίδαι κατοικοῦσι τὴν μεταξὺ ταινίαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κυρήνης, μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς παραλίας.

<sup>m</sup> See above p. 374.

Total extent of the Empire in square English miles :

Europe with the islands <sup>n</sup> ...	916,579
Asia with the islands .....	405,058
Africa including Egypt .....	314,761
	<hr/> 1,636,398

§ 14 I subjoin in alphabetical order the Roman authors who are described at the years annexed in the Tables of the third volume of the *Fasti Hellenici*, and who are more briefly noticed at those years in this epitome.

M. Accius Plautus, his death B. C. 184. See 200. Younger than Livius Andronicus 235.

Ælius grammaticus B. C. 100.

Ælius Tubero the historian B. C. 59.

Æmilius Macer Veronensis poeta, his death B. C. 16.

M. Æmilius Scaurus, who was 72 in B. C. 90, composed orations, and 3 books upon his own life : 90.

Albius Tibullus poeta, his age examined 27. His death 18.

Albutius Silo Novariensis rhetor B. C. 6.

L. Annæus Seneca filius described at B. C. 4.

M. Annæus Seneca pater, also described at B. C. 4.

Antonius Gniphio grammaticus 66. 39.

M. Antonius orator, born 142 ; defends Aquillius 98. censor in B. C. 97. is slain 87.

C. Asinius Pollio, born 76. commands in Spain 45. consul 40. triumphs 39. his death A. D. 4. See A. D. 11.

Atratinus orator 21.

Atteius philologus 39.

Attius poeta born 170. See 139. fifty years younger than Pacuvius 154. thirty years of age in 140. his *Tereus* 103.

Aurelius Opilius B. C. 92.

Sex. Aurelius Propertius poeta 36. 26. 18.

M. Bavius poeta, his death 35.

Q. Cæcilius Epirota 26.

Cæcilius comicus poeta 179. his death 168.

M. Callidius orator 57.

L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi trib. plebis 149. consul 133. censor 149. His *Annales* 149.

Cassius Hemina historicus 146.

<sup>n</sup> In this estimate however the *Tauric Chersonese* and the northern coast of the Euxine are not included.



Cestius rhetor 13.

L. Cincius Alimentus historicus 225. 218. 190.

Claudius grammaticus 100.

Claudius Quadrigarius historicus 134.

L. Cœlius Antipater historicus 142. 134. 123.

Cornelius Epicadus the freedman of Sulla B. C. 78.

Cornelius Gallus præfect of Egypt 39. his death and age 26. his time 18.

Cornelius Nepos flourished B. C. 40.

Cornelius Severus poeta B. C. 2 A. D. 14.

Cornificius poeta, his death 41.

Cotta poeta A. D. 14.

Curtius Nicia grammaticus 45.

Domitius Marsus poeta B. C. 2.

Ennius born 239. brought to Rome 204. in Ætolia 189. 67 years old 173. his death 169.

Q. Fabius Pictor 225. 216.

C. Fannius historicus 146. 142.

Fenestella A. D. 14.

Furius Bibaculus poeta, born 102. See 63.

Furnii, pater et filius, oratores 36.

Higinus grammaticus 83. 47. 10.

Q. Horatius Flaccus born 65. at Philippi 42. his death 8. *Sat. lib. I* B. C. 38. *lib. II* 38. 33. *Epodon* 38. 31. *Carm. lib. I*. 38. 27. *Carm. lib. II* 38. 25. *Carm. lib. III* 38. 23. *Epist. lib. I* 38. 20. *Carmen sæculare* 17. *Carm. lib. IV* 38. 15.

Q. Hortensius orator born 114. His 19th year 95. he defends Verres 70. is consul 69. See 68. defends Sextius 56. his death 50.

D. Laberius mimorum scriptor 43.

Lenæus grammaticus 48.

C. Licinius Calvus orator, born 82. his death 46.

L. Licinius Crassus orator, born 140. taught by Cœlius 123. accuses Carbo 119. his oration *pro Licinia* 114. is quæstor 111. trib. plebis 107. consul 95. His oration *pro Servilia lege* 106. *pro Capione* 95. is censor 92. his death 91.

Livius Andronicus began to exhibit dramas 240.

T. Livius Patavinus born 59. his history 29. for his death see A. D. 14. His first book B. C. 29. his 59th book 18. his 136th and 137th books 15. end of his history B. C. 9.

Luceius historicus 88. 56.

Lucilius poeta born 148. flourished 134. 107. his death 103.

T. Lucretius Carus poeta born 95. on his death see 55. 52.

Macer junior poeta 16. 2. A. D. 12.

C. Melissus poeta 33. 4. 2.

Montanus poeta B. C. 2.

Cn. Nævius poeta 235. his death 201.

Orbilius Pupillus grammaticus 63. 15.

Otacilius Plotus rhetor 81.

P. Ovidius Naso born 43. his time 18. his teachers B. C. 4 B. C. 2.  
his exile A. D. 4. his death in A. D. 18. see A. D. 14. *Ars*  
*Amandi* B. C. 2. *Fasti* A. D. 9. *Heroides* B. C. 2. *Ibis* A. D. 9.  
*Metamorphoses* A. D. 9. *ex Ponto* I. II A. D. 12. *lib. III* A. D. 13.  
*lib. IV* A. D. 14. *Tristia* I. II A. D. 9. *lib. V* A. D. 12.

M. Pacuvius born 219. 65 years old in 154. 80 in 140. See 139.

Passienus orator, his death B. C. 10.

Pedo Albinovanus poeta B. C. 2. A. D. 14.

Plotius Gallus rhetor 88.

L. Pomponius Atellanarum scriptor 91.

M. Porcius Cato born 234. his age 217. quæstor 204. trib.  
militum 191. consul 195. censor 184. *suasit Voconiam legem* 169.  
*causam dixit* 153. 84 years of age in 150. his *Origines* 150. he  
prosecutes Galba 149, his death 149.

M. Porcius Latro rhetor, B. C. 17. his death B. C. 4.

Publius Syrus mimographus 43.

Quintilius Cremonensis poeta, his death 24.

Quintius Atta togatarum scriptor, died B. C. 78.

Rabirius poeta B. C. 2.

P. Rutilius Rufus, his exile 92. his History 88.

Sabinus poeta B. C. 2.

C. Sallustius Crispus born 86. trib. plebis B. C. 52. See 50. ex-  
pelled the senate 59. prætor 46. his death 34. beginning of his  
History 78.

C. Scribonius Curio flourished 53. trib. plebis 50. his death in B. C.  
49 : 46.

Sempronius Asellio the historian 134. 133.

Sisenna the historian 134. 87.

M. Terentius poeta born 194. his *Adelphi* 160. *Andria* 166. *Eunuchus*  
161. *Heautontimorumenos* 163. *Hecyra* 165. *Phormio* 161. his  
death 159.

M. Terentius Varro born 116. served against the pirates 67. lieu-  
tenant to Pompey in Spain 49. proscribed 43. *De re rustica* 37.  
his death 28.

P. Terentius Varro Atacinus poeta, born 82. See 24. B. C. 2.

Tucca and Varius B. C. 17.

M. Tullius Cicero born 106. serves under Pompeius 89. hears Philo and Molo at Rome 88. is at Athens 79. at Rhodes 78. returns to Rome 77. 76. quæstor 75. returns to Rome 74. is ædile 69. prætor 66. consul 63. in exile 58. recalled 57. governor of Cilicia 51. returns 50. See 49. 48. 47. 46. loses Tullia 45. his death 43.

*Academica* 45.

*Brutus* 46.

*in Cæcilium divinatio* 70.

*in toga candida* 64.

*in Catilinam* 63

*Cato B. C.* 46 : see 45.

*pro Cluentio* 66.

*de provinc. consularibus* 56.

*pro Cornelio I* 65.

*pro rege Deiotaro* 45.

*de divinatione* 44.

*de fato* 44.

*de finibus* 45.

*pro Flacco* 59.

*de gloria* 44.

*pro Ligario* 46.

*de luctu minuendo* 45.

*pro lege Manilia* 66.

*pro Marcello* 46.

*pro Milone* 52.

*pro Murena* 63.

*de natura deorum* : see 44.

*de officiis* 44.

*de oratore* 55.

*orator* 45.

*Philippica I-IV* 44. *V-XIV* 43.

*in Pisonem* 55.

*pro Quinctio* 81.

*pro C. Rabirio* 63.

*de republica* 54.

*pro Sex. Roscio* 80.

*in Rullum* 63.

*pro Scauro* 54.

*de Senectute* : see 44.

*pro Sextio* 56.

*pro Sulla* 62.

*pro Thermo* 59.

*Topica* 44.

*Tusc. disputationes* : see 44.

*in Vatinius* 56.

*pro Vatinius* 54.

*in Verrem* 70.

M. Tullius Tiro the freedman of Cicero B. C. 5.

Turpilius comicus, his death 103.

Tuticanus poeta B. C. 2. A. D. 14.

Valerius Antias historicus 134.

Valerius Cato grammaticus 81.

C. Valerius Catullus poeta, born 87. See 57. 55. 47. 40.

M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, born 59. his triumph 27. on his death and age see A. D. 11.

Varius and Tucca 17.

Velleius Paterculus A. D. 2. quæstor elect A. D. 6. quæstor A. D. 7. prætor elect A. D. 14.

Vennonius historicus 142.

Verrius Flaccus A. D. 8.



P. Virgilius Maro born 70. assumes the *toga virilis* 55. see 53. his death 19. *Georgica lib. I* 35. see 25. *Æneis* 24. 22. 17.

M. Vitruvius Pollio B. C. 27.

## NOTES.

p. 66 “or B. C. 822, with Scaliger” &c.] Read this passage thus: “or B. C. 821, with Scaliger, who assumes 417 years to adapt Thucydides to a date in Eusebius.” Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 60 places with Eusebius, or rather with Hieronymus, the legislation of Lycurgus at the Eusebian year 1195, commencing Oct. B. C. 822, and from this epoch computes 417 years to the Eusebian year 1612 commencing Oct. B. C. 405, in which the Peloponnesian war was ended. This period of 417 years therefore is at B. C. 821—404.

I assume at p. 67 B. C. 817 for the legislation of Lycurgus rather than 816, which is named at p. 66, because B. C. 817 better agrees with the numbers in Cyril and Hieronymus. The passages in Cyril and Hieronymus which refer to the legislation of Lycurgus are quoted in F. Hellen. Vol. 1 p. 141 note g.

p. 85 Creon first annual archon] From *Creon* to *Comias* both inclusive B. C. 683—560 Ol. 24. 2—55. 1 in 124 years the names of 25 archons are extant. To those inserted in the Tables of this Epitome p. 85—94 may be added the following: *Miltiades archon* Ol. 24. 1 B. C. 664 from Pausanias quoted in F. H. I p. 192, *Heniochides archon* Ol. 41. 2 B. C. 615 from Dionys. Ant. III. 116 p. 537, *Philippus archon* Ol. 48. 1 B. C. 588 from Clem. Al. Strom. I p. 331 B, called also *Philippus* in the Armenian Eusebius anno 1426, and in Chron. Pasch. p. 137 A, although *Phænippus* in Hieronymus Chron. anno 1425.

In the space of 79 years between *Comias* B. C. 560 and *Calliades* B. C. 480 we have the names and stations of 21 archons. But in the period of 189 years from B. C. 480 to 292 inclusive one archon only is wanting, the archon of Ol. 121. 4 B. C. 293. With this single exception we possess for that period an unbroken series of the Athenian archons, beginning with *Calliades* and ending with *Philippus*.

p. 115 The patriarchal genealogies] The years before the birth of the son, the residues, and the totals of lives, are set forth in the first volume of the Fasti Hellenici p. 285. 287, and for the convenience of the reader the residues and the totals of lives as they stand in the Hebrew text shall be added here.

	Ages	Residues	Totals
1 Adam . . . . .	130	800	930
2 Seth . . . . .	105	807	912
3 Enos . . . . .	90	815	905
4 Cainan . . . . .	70	840	910
5 Mahalaleel . . . . .	65	830	895
6 Jared . . . . .	162	800	962
7 Enoch . . . . .	65	300	365
8 Methuselah . . . . .	187	782	969
9 Lamech . . . . .	182	595	777
10 Noah . . . . .	500	350	950
To the Flood . . . .	100		
	1656		
11 Shem (100) . . . .	2	500	—
12 Arphaxad . . . . .	35	403	—
13 Salah . . . . .	30	403	—
14 Heber . . . . .	34	430	—
15 Peleg . . . . .	30	209	—
16 Reu . . . . .	32	207	—
17 Serug . . . . .	30	200	—
18 Nahor . . . . .	29	119	—
19 Terah . . . . .	70	—	205
20 to Abraham . . . . .	292		

p. 195 Death of Alexander—June B. C. 323] In the second volume of the *Fasti Hellenici* p. 178 this is called “May or June B. C. 323.” If however we assign the 6th of the Attic Thargelion as the day of this event, from *Ælian* compared with *Plutarch*, we obtain May 19. For in *Olymp.* 114. 1 according to the Metonic Tables of *Dodwell* Thargelion began May 14. And in the year of the death of Alexander, assuming that the 28th of *Dæsius* fell upon the 6th of *Thargelion*, we may adjust the Macedonian and the Attic calendars in this manner :

	Days	began	began
1 Dios . . . .	30	Sept. 27 B. C. 324	Boedrom. 8
2 Apellæus	29	Oct. 27 . . . . .	Pyaneps. 9
3 Audynæus	30	Nov. 25 . . . . .	Mæmact. 8
4 Peritius . .	29	Dec. 25 . . . . .	Posid. 9
5 Dystrus . .	30	Jan. 23 B. C. 323	Gamelion 8
6 Xanthicus	29	Feb. 22 . . . . .	Anthest. 9
7 Artemisius	30	March 23 . . . . .	Elapheb. 8
8 Dæsius . .	29	April 22 . . . . .	Munych. 9

Dæs. 23=May 14=Thargel. 1.

Dæs. 28=May 19=Thargel. 6.

See *F. Hellen.* Vol. 2 p. 284 note n.

p. 202 On the duration of Spartan reigns] The remarks inserted upon this subject at p. 141 will establish that we are justified in allowing to these reigns a larger amount of years than the average proportion. The remarks offered at p. 202 will shew reasons for preferring the reduced numbers of Callimachus (described at p. 62) to the larger amounts of Eratosthenes.

p. 204 col. 2 Demaratus reigned 19 years] Probably near 20 years, from the beginning of B. C. 510 to the close of 491.

p. 210 Olympias] In the third Volume of the *Fasti Hellenici* p. 309 the table of the reigns is formed upon the accounts of Porphyry and Eusebius, who place Olympias within the 19 years of Cassander. But Dexippus quoted in this volume p. 216, who reckons the 19 years exclusive of Olympias, is in better accordance with the facts of history; and the table given in this epitome p. 210 of the reigns in Macedonia from Aridæus to Antigonus Gonatas is an improvement upon the table in the former work. Between the death of Alexander, May 19 B. C. 323, and the accession of Cassander in the spring of 315 are about 7y 9m. The last 16 months of this period were occupied by Olympias, and the first few weeks by Perdiccas and the generals. The intermediate space of about 6y 4m (7 years current) belonged to Aridæus.

p. 245 Beginning of the Attic year] That Gamelion near the winter solstice was originally the first month of the Attic year may be inferred from the station of the intercalary month Posideon II, which preceded Gamelion. And the practice of other nations (as of the Romans, the Macedonians, and the Hebrews,) was to place the intercalary at the end of the year. But in process of time the Attic year was made to commence, like the Olympic, at the summer solstice, and Hecatombæon became the first month. Scaliger assigns B. C. 566 as the period of this change, the date of the Institution of the *Panathenæa Magna*, which were celebrated in Hecatombæon. But it has been shewn in *Fast. Hellen.* Vol. I p. 182 to be highly probable that this change was made at a much earlier epoch, and that the first annual archon *Creon* commenced at midsummer B. C. 683. For two centuries after *Creon* no distinct memorials are extant to shew at what season of the year the archon commenced his office. But, as we approach the times of which fuller accounts remain, we find the archon at Hecatombæon. We have evidence to shew that the archon *Apsephion* in B. C. 469, the archon *Philocles* in 459, the archon *Callias* in 456, commenced at Hecatombæon, and that their years were conumerary with the Olympic. That the Attic year after the archonship of *Apseudes* B. C. 433 commenced at Hecatombæon or July is universally acknowledged.



That the lunar year was still in use at Athens in the time of the Cæsars is attested by an Inscription quoted in F. H. II p. 393. And down to the time of Plutarch Hecatombæon still began near the summer solstice, Metagitnion was August, and Boedromion was September. But when Epiphanius wrote, who is quoted at p. 355 of this Epitome, Hecatombæon coincided with October and Metagitnion with November; from whence we collect that after the Julian year had been adopted at Athens the fixed Attic year was made to begin like the Macedonian in the autumn.

p. 371 *Tauchira*] This name is written indifferently *Tauchira* and *Teuchira*. It is *Tauchira* in Herodotus, Strabo, and Stephanus Byzantinus, *Teuchira* in the Itinerary of Antoninus, in Ptolemy, Pliny, Synesius, Ammianus, and Hierocles. See other examples of both in Tzschucke ad Melam tom. 3. l p. 211. Where he says “Τεύχειρα Strabo ex emendatione Casauboni.” And yet in his own edition of Strabo Tzschucke has given the name Ταύχειρα, and adds tom. 6 p. 691 this note from Casaubon: “Scripti Τάρχειρα. Lego Ταύχειρα, ut etiam apud Herodotum IV. 171 et Diodorum legitur.” In Diodorus XVIII. 20 Wesseling has Τεύχειρα. But he reports that some copy had Τάχιρα. Whence Casaubon more properly gave Ταύχειρα as the reading of Diodorus.

p. 401 *L. Cæcilius Metellus*—consul a second time in B.C. 248] Read B.C. 247, and for “post annum 248” read “post annum 247.” *Metellus* was cos. II in U. C. Varr. 507 B.C. 247, as expressed at p. 299, and in the *fourth year* afterwards was appointed P. M.: Val. Max. l. c. *Metellus quarto anno post consularia imperia senex admodum pontifex maximus creatus*. Whence we learn that the term *quadriennio* in Cicero is to be understood inclusively. The four years were U. C. Varr. 507—510 both inclusive.

# INDEX.

THE references in this Index are to the pages of the volume. The Athenian archons who bore the same name are registered under one head. The same arrangement has been sometimes adopted in the Olympic victors. The Roman authors, who are described already at § 14 p. 432, are not inserted in this Index.

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## ERRATA

- p. V l. 31 for "Temmires" read "Temmices"  
 7 l. 17 for "Helen" r. "Hellen"  
 31 l. 41 for "Marathius" read "Marasus"  
 46 l. 10 for "Acrisius" read "Prætus"  
 66 l. 12 for "Eratosthenes" r. "Eusebius"  
 82 B. C. 775 l. 7 for "32" r. "35"  
 83 B. C. 732 for "Archias" read "Clidicus"  
 98 l. 25 for "Messenia" read "Arcadia"  
 165 B. C. 461 l. 1 for "Conon" read "Cimon"  
 229 note read "2,110,000"  
 235 l. 25 for "Jehoiakim" r. "Jehoiakin"  
 236 l. 19 for "Jackson" read "of Jackson"  
 238 l. antepenult. for "31st" read "41st"  
 250 l. 16 for "of Corcyra" read "to Corcyra"  
 308 B. C. 181 l. 2 read "Ingauni"  
 343 l. 20 for "was" read "were"  
 375 l. 32 for "Ticium" read "Tieium"  
 385 l. ult. for "Magi" read "the Magi"  
 420 l. 7 for "preceptor" r. "father and preceptor"  
 422 l. 36 for "95" read "295"  
 431 l. 16 for *Ægypto* read *Ægypti*







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